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Mark Steyn's *America Alone*

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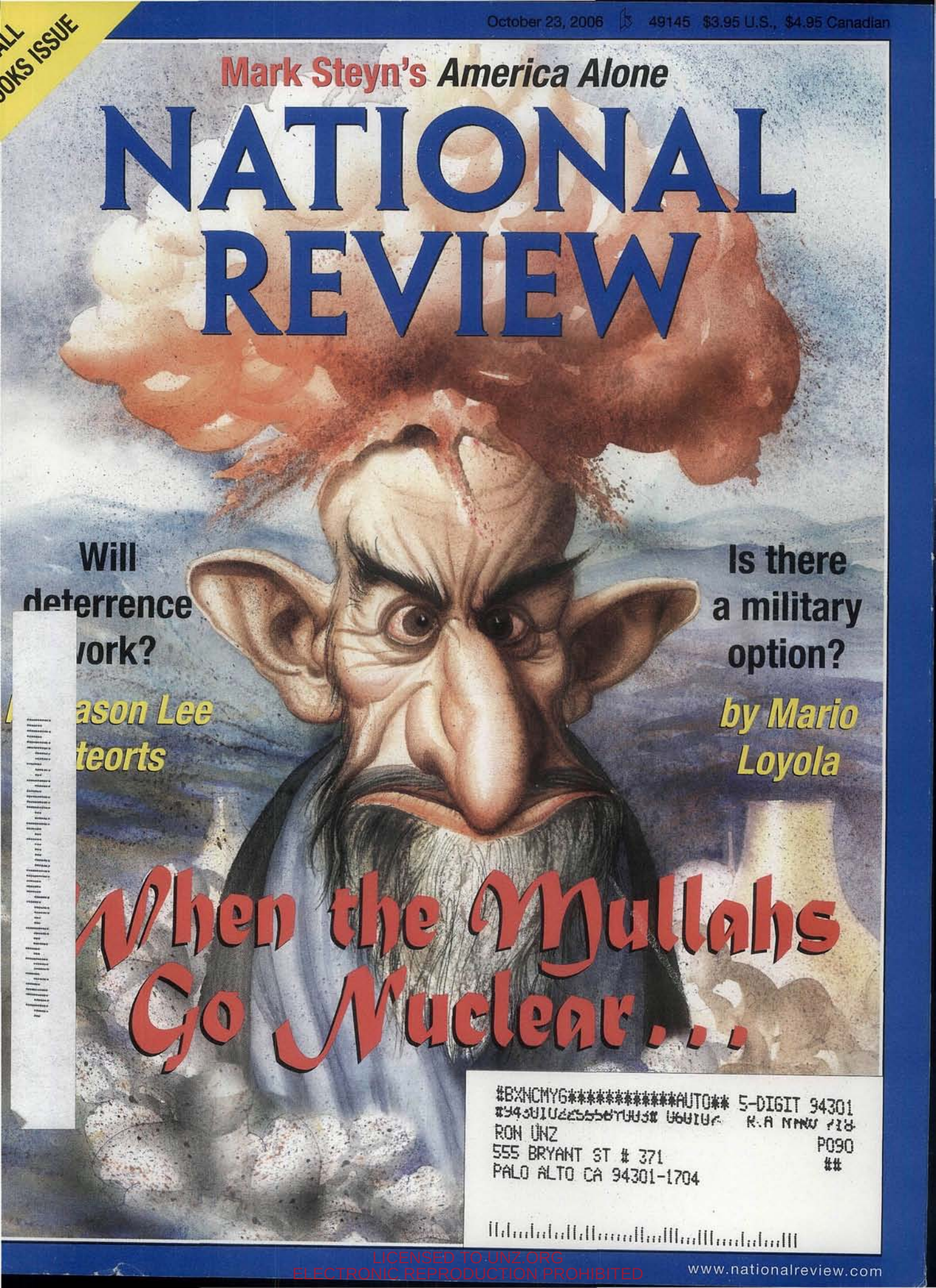

Will deterrence work?

ason Lee teorts

Is there a military option?

by Mario Loyola

When the Mullahs Go Nuclear . . .

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OCTOBER 23, 2006 VOL. LVIII, NO. 19

NATIONAL REVIEW

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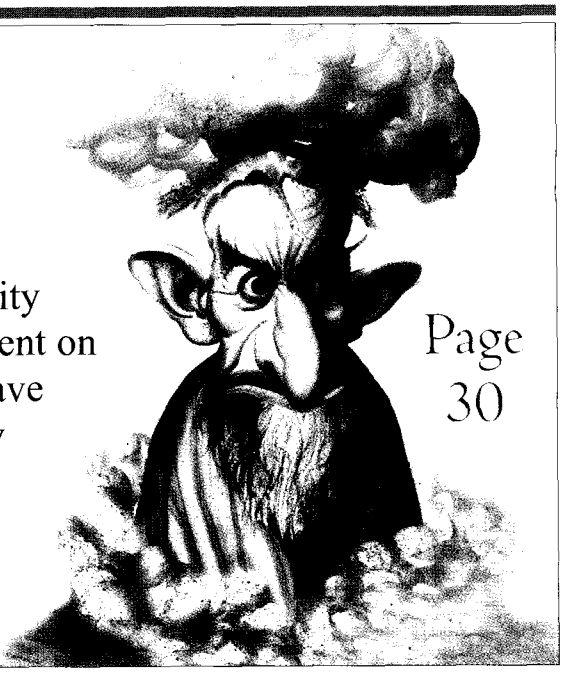
■ COVER STORY

Can Iran Be Deterred?

Iran's rulers want nuclear weapons, and the carrot-sans-stick diplomacy of Europe is not changing their minds. Neither is the U.N. Security Council, which is too fractured, and too dependent on Iranian oil, to impose effective sanctions. We have not reached the dead end of the diplomatic alley quite yet, but in all likelihood the United States will eventually have to decide whether it is willing to fight a war to stop Iran from going nuclear. *By Jason Lee Steorts*



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NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2006. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

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October 23 issue; printed October 5

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letters to the editor

AN ONGOING QUESTION

Your editorial urging the administration to commit more troops to Iraq merits comment ("More Troops," Oct. 9). As Secretary Rumsfeld has explained, determining troop levels is more an art than a science. But it is an art that requires a firm understanding of the present conditions on the ground.

Those with the best vantage point, the commanders in Iraq, have consistently said that American troops are at the level they believe is required. They say that they need more capable Iraqi forces, not American troops. As General Abizaid explained recently, "This notion that troop levels are static is not true, never has been true, and it won't be true. We will ask for what we need when we need them. But it's key that the Iraqi military take on more and more responsibility."

U.S. troop levels have fluctuated as the conditions in Iraq have evolved. Recently, as your editorial noted, troop levels in Baghdad increased to help Iraqis quell sectarian violence. It is simply incorrect to suggest, as NR does, that the military and civilian leadership has been willing "to commit only enough forces not to lose." The Department of Defense is committed to victory, and will continue to rely heavily on the advice of military experts with firsthand knowledge of the battlefield.

Bryan Whitman
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
for Public Affairs
The Pentagon

LEHIGH LOW

I decided to do a little research on my own alma mater to see if John J. Miller's thesis about the decline of military history held true ("Sounding Taps," Oct. 9). Lehigh University (conservative enough to still have ROTC) lists all of its history department's faculty on one web page with each member's individual areas of interest. A quick search on the word "military" returned zero occurrences, while the word "gender" had three hits.

George N. Miller
Saylorsburg, Pa.

CHOICES AND CHANCES

In his brief essay "Free to Choose" (Oct. 9), Kevin A. Hassett correctly points out that most people's income reflects their own choices in life. But I would temper this observation: While many people do make bad decisions, there are also many who lack the opportunity or the skills to succeed. There is a fundamental difference in many political discussions: The Right tends to believe that most of what happens to you is your own doing, while the Left believes that almost nothing is your own fault. Life tends to be more complicated: It is wrong to generalize that the rich don't deserve what they have, but let's also avoid the assumption that everyone freely chooses his level of success.

John Kratunis
Bridgewater, N.J.

KEVIN A. HASSETT REPLIES: The letter raises an important point, but mischaracterizes my piece. I made no assumption that everyone freely chooses his level of success in my piece, and do not believe such to be true. Indeed, my article mentioned specifically that the very poor are an exception to the rule that decisions determine economic outcomes.

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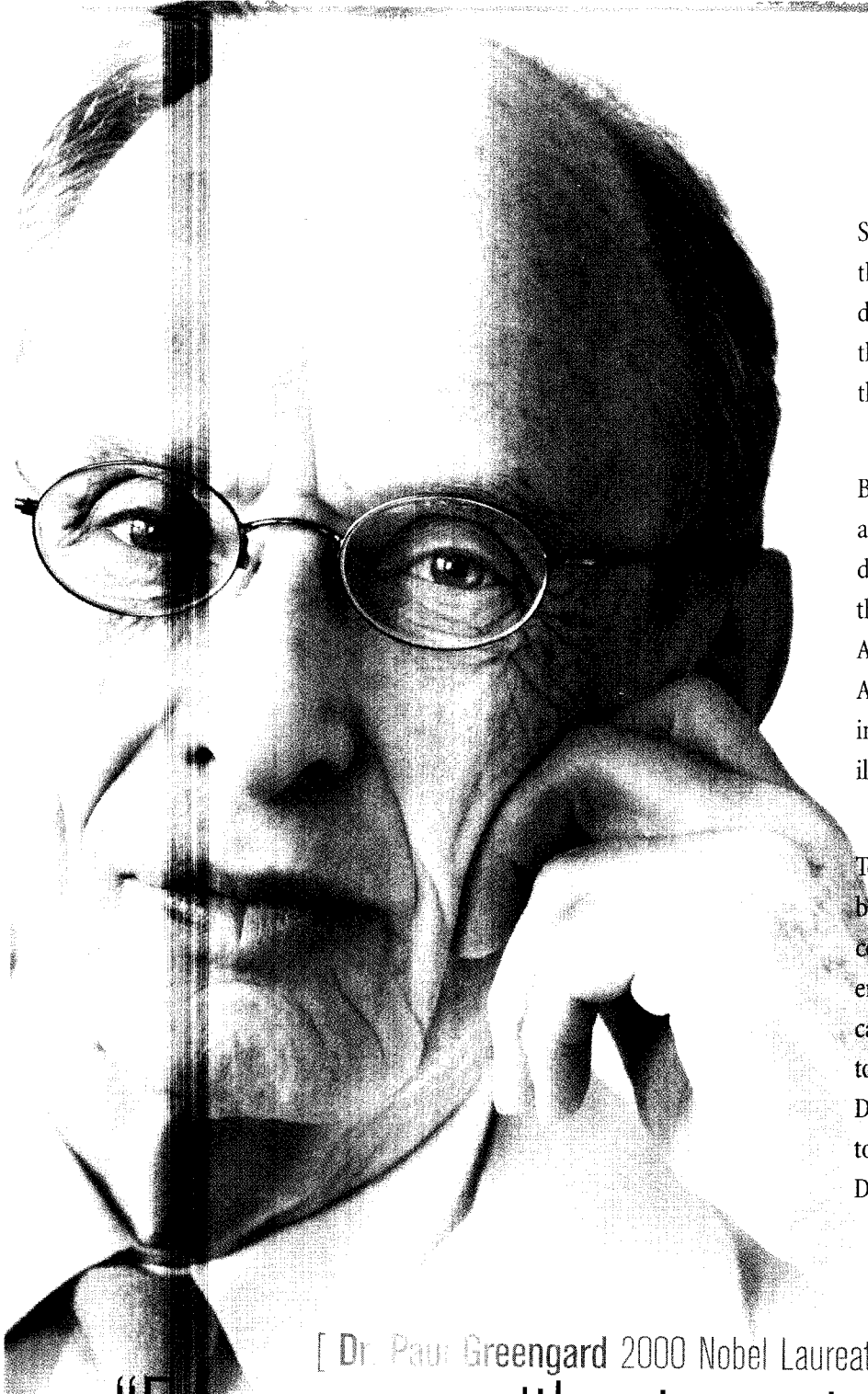

Some say depression is all in your head. Well, that's right. And wrong. It's right because depression is in the head, or more precisely, the brain. In fact, we've seen how it destroys the connections between brain cells.

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[Dr. Paul Greengard 2000 Nobel Laureate in Medicine]

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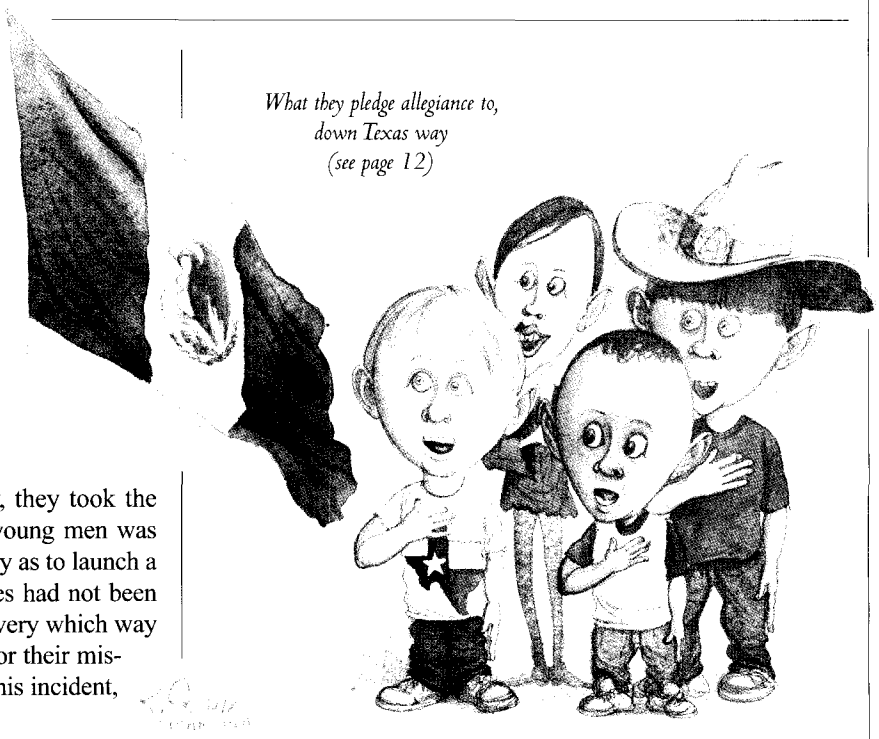
THE WEEK

■ Mark Foley has checked himself into rehab for alcoholism. We hope the scotch was older than the boys.

■ There is more than enough disgrace in the latest congressional scandal to spread around. Most of it goes to Foley, who repeatedly propositioned boys who had been congressional pages. (He resigned when it became public knowledge.) But some must also attach to his Republican colleagues, who did not show sufficient alarm at the early warning signs. When the family of a page requested that Foley end contact with him, House leadership aides told him to comply with the request. Presumably, they took the request seriously because Foley's interest in young men was well known. But they did not take it so seriously as to launch a real investigation to make sure that other pages had not been endangered. Once the story broke, they spun every which way they could without ever taking responsibility for their mistakes. If Republicans lose their majority over this incident, it will be odd, but it will not be entirely unjust.



What they pledge allegiance to, down Texas way
(see page 12)

■ A book by Bob Woodward is an odd affair. Each is a dull compendium, shapeless as a Hefty bag, of whoever would talk to him. Occasionally, some bits appear to be Woodward talking to himself. Yet since he is the biggest of big feet, he gets a lot of people to talk. The art is sifting the silt for useful information or impressions. His latest, *State of Denial*, on the Iraq War, has been hyped for revealing that former Bush chief of staff Andrew Card proposed canning Donald Rumsfeld (yawn: Isn't that what chiefs of staff should regularly do?) and that George Tenet tipped Condi Rice to an imminent al-Qaeda threat in July 2001 (denied by Rice, and who would now trust Tenet to say what time it is?). Of real interest, however, is the suggestion of the gulf between Rumsfeld and Rice on Iraqi nation-building: Rumsfeld appears to want to hand Iraq off to a capable Iraqi army ASAP, while Rice argues that stabilizing the new government has to come first. If that's the argument, Rice is right: Good armies can't come out of political and social thin air. If that means getting in more heavily before we get out, it's up to the president to make that view stick.

■ Republicans in Washington may find themselves mired in a series of scandals, but in New Jersey these problems belong to the Democrats—and it may cost them the Senate seat of Robert Menendez, who was appointed to it earlier this year after Jon Corzine became governor. In September, federal prosecutors began investigating an arrangement whereby Menendez leased property for $300,000 to the North Hudson Community Action Corporation, a nonprofit group that has received millions of dollars in federal grants at least partly through the efforts of Menendez. In a possibly related controversy, Oscar Sandoval, a psychiatrist, released a tape in which Donald Scarinci, a close adviser to Menendez, appears to demand that Sandoval hire one of Menendez's patrons or risk losing government contracts worth $1 million. The patron in question, Dr. Vicente Ruiz, once received a six-figure salary from the North Hudson Community Action Corporation. Menendez has denied any wrongdoing, but New Jersey voters are bound to be wary: In the last four years, they've seen a Democratic senator (Robert Torricelli) abandon his reelection campaign amid allegations of financial impropriety and a Democratic governor (James McGreevey) resign after gross corruption. Waiting in the wings is Republican nominee Tom Kean Jr., the son of a former governor, a state senator, and a moderate who is now running even with Menendez in the polls.

■ Nowadays every hip-hop song refers to *niggers* (or *niggaz*, as it is idiomatically spelled). White southerners doing so 20 or 30 years ago were a different matter; but what does such misbehavior mean decades later? Casual acquaintances of Sen. George Allen, locked in a death-match with Democratic challenger Jim Webb, claim that Allen talked that way once upon a time; one says he even stuffed a deer's head in a black man's mailbox while on a hunting trip. Meanwhile, another informant has testified to a kindred stunt in Webb's past. Both men deny the charges. Can we all please grow up? We have more press-

ROMAN GENN

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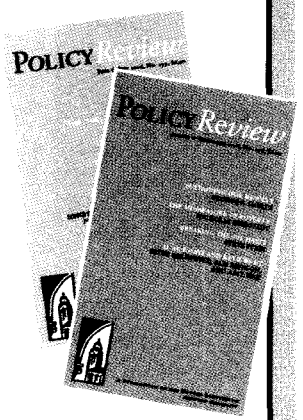

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In the new issue of *Policy Review*

Law and Terror

This is a democracy. Congress must legislate

Two branches of government have been hard at work in the war on terror these past years, even if they have not infrequently worked at cross-purposes. Executive agencies devise a warrantless surveillance program — and a federal judge declares it unconstitutional. Administration officials and federal bureaucrats devise rules for trying accused terrorists in military tribunals — and the Hamdan decision sends the tribunal drafters back to the drawing board. But where are the people's elected representatives in all of this? The Supreme Court has said that Congress has an indispensable role to play in establishing democratically legitimate policy in counterterrorism. Democratic theory tells us, moreover, that whatever actions the executive was able to undertake on its own authority in the immediate emergency of 9/11, and indeed whatever inherent powers it might permanently possess, in fact democracy is better off when the political branches work in concert to create a long term policy. So where is the legislation, passed by Congress and signed into law by the president, on the multiple topics that make up a full and complete counterterrorism policy for the country?

—Kenneth Anderson

Anti-Americanisms

Biases as diverse as the country itself

If a society veers toward secularism, as much of Europe has, American religiosity is likely to become salient — odd, disturbing, and, due to American power, vaguely threatening. How can a people who believe more strongly in the Virgin Birth than in the theory of evolution be trusted to lead an alliance of liberal societies? If a society adopts more fervently Islamic religious doctrine and practices, as has occurred throughout much of the Islamic world during the past quarter-century, the prominence of women in American society and the vulgarity and emphasis on sexuality that pervades much of American popular culture are likely to evoke loathing, even fear. Thus, anti-Americanism is closely linked to the polyvalence of American society.

—Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane

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ing issues, starting with a world war. Webb's sly manipulation of these attacks speaks less well for his character than even his party jumping. Allen's clumsy response to this and the *macaca* controversy shows him to be both short-tempered and flat-footed. Virginia voters should shrug it off and return the better (though not ideal) man, George Allen, to the Senate.

■ Check out your yellow pages under "abortion services," and you might well find an ad touting the fact that the clinic does not operate under a parental-consent requirement. Virginia, for example, has a parental-consent requirement that the District of Columbia lacks. So if you are a Virginia man who has impregnated your underage girlfriend, you will find an ad for a D.C. clinic with the words "No Parental Consent." Problem solved. Clinics in New Jersey, without a requirement, run such ads in Pennsylvania, which has one. Clinics in Chicago advertise the same way in Indiana. And so on. These ads are designed to facilitate the evasion of state laws that the vast majority of people, and especially parents, support. A majority in Congress wants to tighten enforcement of parental-notification and parental-consent laws. They would make it illegal for an adult to take a minor across state lines to evade these laws. But a minority of Democrats have used every procedural trick in the book to block the legislation. Remember Hillary Clinton's opposition to this bill the next time you hear about her supposed "moderation" on abortion.

■ If supporting border security without amnesty or a guest-worker program is the political poison that our friends at the *Wall Street Journal* and *The Weekly Standard* argue it is, Capitol Hill is chockfull of lousy politicians in both parties. Last month, the House passed the "Secure Fence Act" on a 283–138 vote that included 64 Democrats. Before recessing for the elections, the Senate voted by a margin of 80–19 to authorize the same act, which will construct a 700-mile fence along the southern border. The inept politicians include some of Congress's most ambitious members. The large Senate majority included Sens. John McCain and Hillary Clinton, who used to argue, in accord with out-of-touch elite opinion, that beefed-up border enforcement should pass only as part of a "comprehensive" immigration reform that includes amnesty for millions and a guest-worker program for millions more. Let's hope that the politicians next get the message that the public wants enforcement of the laws at the workplace, too. The pols might not share the public's interest in border security, but we can count on their interest in job security.

■ President Bush nominated TV producer Warren Bell to serve on the board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The CPB directs federal funding to PBS and NPR. Bell was supposed to have a hearing before the Senate Commerce Committee, but it was pulled from the schedule at the last minute, when Republicans on the committee caved to Democrats who oppose his nomination on the grounds that he is too conservative. (Bell contributes, for example, to National Review Online.) Their position is particularly absurd, given the apolitical nature of the appointment and Bell's long experience as a broadcasting professional. It's always bad when Republicans don't fight to confirm qualified nominees; in this case, given the weakness of the arguments against Bell, it's disgraceful.

ROGER L. WOLLENBERG/UPI

■ With gas prices nearing $3 per gallon last spring, a geyser of hysteria erupted from the ranks of the Democratic party. Senate minority leader Harry Reid declared, "The nation's eyes are focused on the big oil companies' greed and enormous profits . . . I blame the Bush administration." House minority leader Nancy Pelosi invoked the sinister "Cheney Secret Energy Task Force." Others called for the federal government to intervene with an "anti-price-gouging" law to rein in the vulture capitalists. The inanity couldn't have been more perfect, or more predictable. In reality, of course, gas prices are not set by oil companies or Republicans. They are set by world oil markets, which operate in turn according to the laws of supply and demand. Gas prices rose last spring, as they do every spring, in preparation for the high-demand summer driving season. And then the market responded: Producers increased their output in order to make more profits, and consumers began conserving to save money. Supply rose, demand slouched—and prices fell. As gas consumption tapers off in the coming months, the price per gallon is projected to drop to as low as $2.15. The Democrats' credibility deserves to drop even farther.

■ Three years ago, the administration of Michael Bloomberg, mayor of New York City, banned tobacco smoking in bars and restaurants. The ban was sold to New Yorkers mainly as a way to protect the health of workers in these establishments, who might otherwise be afflicted by "secondhand smoke." Many of us said at the time that if you give these health zealots an inch, they'll take a mile. So it has proved. Nanny Bloomberg's latest proposal, for approval by the city's Board of Health, is to ban the sale of food prepared using "trans fats," which are believed to cause cholesterol problems. The pretense of concern for innocent bystanders has been dropped; this is strictly for our own good. As, no doubt, will be future measures under Mayor-Nanny Bloomberg: the banning of alcohol, perhaps, or a prohibition on sugar, or compulsory morning calisthenics and a city-wide 10 o'clock lights-out. So long as citizens are informed of the consequences of ingesting trans fats, can we not be left to make up our own minds?

■ Former vice president and perpetual environmentalist scold Al Gore was invited to address diplomats and staff of the United Nations about his hobbyhorse, global warming. After an introduction by secretary-general Kofi Annan, Gore startled his audience by claiming that cigarette smoking is a "significant contributor" to the problem. The ex-veep did not cite any evidence for this striking claim, but then, it has long been plain that

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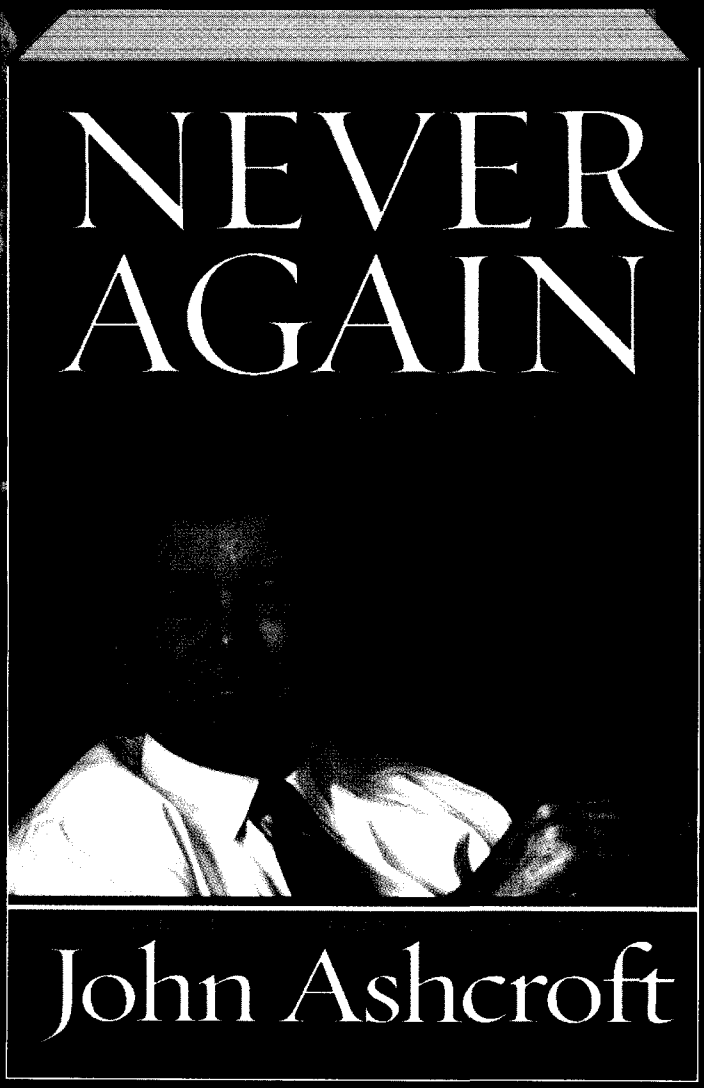
THE UNTOLD STORY BEHIND THE U.S. WAR ON TERROR— FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AT THE CENTER OF IT ALL.



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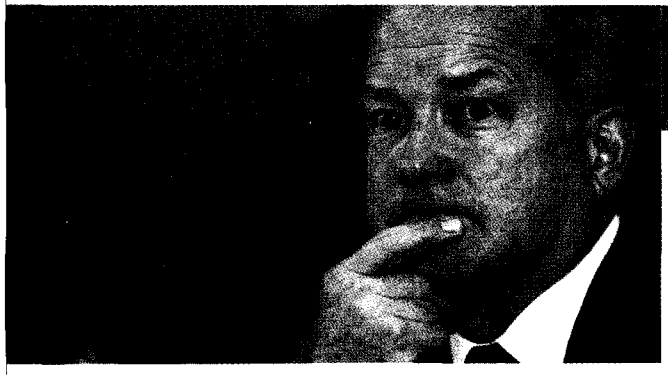
THE WEEK...

his thoughts on matters environmental have ascended into an evidence-free zone. Possibly his tremendous mind was turned in the direction of the demon weed by the tang of tobacco smoke in the air at the U.N. building. As international territory, the building is exempt from the indoor-smoking ban that applies to all other workplaces in New York City under the rule of Mayor Michael Bloomberg (see above). Should you be overcome by the tobacco urge while visiting the U.N., we recommend the Vienna Café in the building's basement, whose air has the smoke content of a 1950s French art movie.

■ A memorial to the 9/11 attacks was unveiled in Phoenix, Ariz., on the fifth anniversary of those events. Titled "Moving Memories," the memorial is in the form of a circular concrete plaza 50 feet in diameter, fitted out with benches and part-roofed by an annulus of sheet metal around the circumference. Stencil-cut into this annulus are 54 brief phrases relating to the attacks. Sunlight projects these phrases onto the concrete base, different phrases projecting at different times of day. Nice design: But passing from form to content, what do the phrases say? Well, one says, "You don't win battles of terrorism with more battles." Another: "Congress questions why CIA and FBI didn't prevent attacks." Yet another: "Erroneous US air strike kills 46 Uruzgan civilians." (This refers to the accidental bombing of an Afghan wedding party in 2002.) It is small comfort to note that "Bush lied, people died" seems not to be featured. The chairman of the memorial commission has said that they will "re-examine" some of the stenciled phrases, but not until after the November elections, because, as the Associated Press put it, "Sept. 11 victims and their family members should not be politicized." Something about runaway horses and their stable doors comes to mind . . .



BRUCE R. BENNETT/ZUMA

On Capitol Carnality

MARK FOLEY is a grotesque guy as far as I'm concerned. The disgraced former congressman indisputably hit on teenagers he met as congressional pages. It was an outrageous breach of trust. And investigations are underway to see what else he did. Given the political climate, it should surprise no one if these investigations take on the odor of a witch-hunt or moral panic. It should also surprise no one that the Democrats are seizing on an October surprise with considerable glee.

Foley's sudden resignation was announced on a Friday. By that Monday Democrats were shouting "cover-up" and, in races across the country, denouncing their GOP opponents for taking money from Foley, as if taking such contributions in good faith and complete ignorance were, in and of itself, evidence of softness on congressional pederasty.

Forgive me if I'm incapable of taking Democratic outrage too seriously. This was, after all, the party that made defending Bill Clinton's baron-and-the-milkmaid act with an intern into its signature issue. Before that, there was Democratic congressman Gerry Studds (a name fit for gay porn if ever there was one), who, it was revealed in 1983, had an affair with a 17-year-old page. Mr. Studds was censured by the Congress for his behavior, but he wore the condemnation as a badge of honor, literally turning his back on his putatively homophobic colleagues as they read the censure. He immediately gave a press conference at which he proclaimed he did nothing wrong. Studds ran for reelection, and his solidly Democratic district reelected him *five more times*.

That same year a Republican, Dan Crane of Illinois, was rebuked for his affair with a 17-year-old female page. Crane openly wept during an abject apology and begged for forgiveness. He ran for reelection and the voters threw him out of office.

There is a pattern here. Just as President Clinton's impeachment proceedings were underway, his defenders leaked the news that the speaker-to-be, Bob Livingston, had had an affair. He resigned almost immediately, a move to which many Democrats objected because such personal accountability suggested that maybe Clinton should resign too. Barney Frank, whose gay-hooker-lover-turned-personal-aide ran a prostitution ring out of his apartment, remains in many respects the conscience of the Democratic caucus in the House while Republican Bob Packwood (what is it with these porn names?) harassed female staffers and was driven from office as a result.

Of course, there are extenuating circumstances in all of these examples, but there is a lesson here nonetheless. No conservative who understands what conservatism is would argue that human failings aren't well distributed across the political and ideological landscape. The question is how we as individuals and institutions respond to them. The liberal-Democratic position seems to be that personal sins are never relevant, except for the sin of hypocrisy. So Republicans who stand by a moral standard can be condemned for not living up to it, while liberals who pooh-pooh such standards never can be. As Howard Dean explained not long ago, "Everybody has ethical shortcomings. We ought not to lecture each other about our ethical shortcomings. . . . I will use whatever position I have in order to root out hypocrisy." What a convenient principle.

—JONAH GOLDBERG

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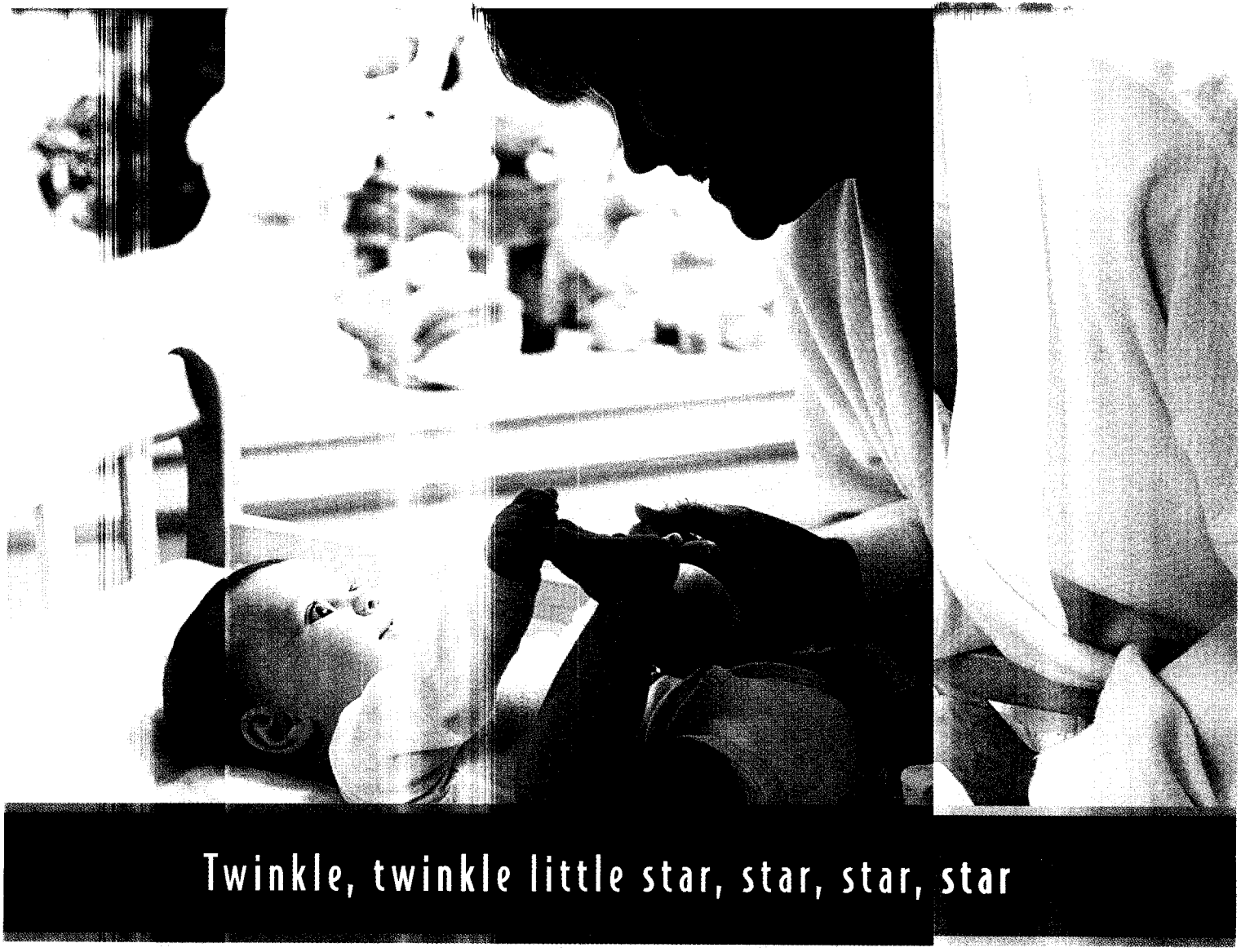

Twinkle, twinkle little star, star, star, star

Morningstar Overall Rating™ 8/31/06*

Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund AVEMX	Ave Maria Growth Fund AVEGX	Ave Maria Bond Fund AVEFX
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The Week...

■ The Intercollegiate Studies Institute has released a depressing report titled "The Coming Crisis in Citizenship." It contains the results of a civics survey conducted on our nation's college campuses. Freshmen and seniors were asked a variety of basic questions about American history, government, economics, and international relations. Among seniors, the average score was a miserable 53.2 percent. This was only 1.5 percent higher than the average for freshmen. Fewer than half of seniors knew that the Declaration of Independence includes the words "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal . . . " So today's students are entering college with high levels of civic illiteracy, and our universities are failing to educate them. It may be fanciful to expect contemporary academics to *respect* the heritage of Western civilization—but can we at least ask that they not ignore it?

■ Tony Blair has said he will resign as prime minister within a year. His valedictory address to the Labour party conference in Manchester had a message for the faint of heart and mind in Labour, the Tory party, and the United States: The "global struggle against terrorism . . . will last a generation and more. But this I believe passionately: We will not win until we shake ourselves free of the wretched capitulation to the propaganda of the enemy—that somehow we are the ones responsible. This terrorism isn't our fault. We didn't cause it. It's not the consequence of foreign policy. It's an attack on our way of life. It's global. It has an ideology. It killed nearly 3,000 people, including over 60 British, on the streets of New York before war in Afghanistan or Iraq was even thought of. . . . If we retreat now, hand Iraq over to al-Qaeda and sectarian death squads and Afghanistan back to al-Qaeda and the Taliban, we won't be safer; we will be committing a craven act of surrender that will put our future security in the deepest peril." A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.

■ Mark Malloch Brown, deputy secretary general of the United Nations, says many stupid things—most recently, when he advised that President Bush and Prime Minister Blair "need to get beyond [the] posturing and grandstanding" when speaking about Darfur. He is upset that the two leaders would threaten to use force to end the genocide there. Sudan, Mr. Brown worries, will be able to present itself as "the victim[] of the next crusade after Iraq and Afghanistan." Much better if Bush and Blair were to content themselves with U.N. resolutions asking Khartoum whether the U.N. might please send in some peacekeepers. After all, U.N. forces shouldn't be there if Khartoum doesn't want them, as Mr. Brown sees the situation: "Peacekeeping always needs to be done with the consent of all sides to the conflict, otherwise it's not keeping the peace—it's trying to enforce one." While the U.N. waits for a world in which China advocates human rights instead of violates them, Islamic nations care at all that one of them is butchering its citizens, and genocidal regimes respond to diplomatic pressure from the U.N., we'll stick with Bush and Blair's threats of force.

■ Robert Redeker, who teaches philosophy in a French high school, wrote an op-ed for the conservative newspaper *Le Figaro* about Islam. Why not? French philosophers have been writing about religion for a long time (Voltaire stuffed his *Dictionnaire philosophique* with articles on Abraham, Adam, atheism, etc., etc.). Redeker was not kind: He called Muhammad "a merciless warlord" and the Koran "a book of incredible violence." The threats started pouring in by e-mail, one explicitly comparing him to Theo Van Gogh, the Dutch filmmaker murdered for dissing Islamic culture. French officialdom has issued a mixture of bluster and bleats ("Everyone has the right to express his views freely," said Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, "while respecting others, of course"). Redeker, in hiding, describes his situation exactly: "This affair is . . . an attack against national sovereignty. Foreign rules, decided by criminally minded fanatics, punish me for having exercised a constitutional right, and I am subjected, even in France, to great injury."

■ Different country, same station. The Deutsch Oper Berlin canceled a production of Mozart's *Idomeneo* because its last scene showed the severed heads of Jesus, Buddha, Poseidon, and Muhammad. Christians, Buddhists, and pagans have not been heard from, but the opera feared the reaction of . . . well, you understand. (NB: *Idomeneo* does mention Poseidon, though it does not behead him; the other religious figures have nothing to do with it, except in the crazy world of European opera.) This time, the scenario is playing differently, though. A spokesman for the ruling party accused the opera house of "falling on its knees before the terrorists," and her interior minister called the decision to cancel "crazy." Odd for Germany to draw the line of freedom at lousy opera productions, but so be it.

■ Lenny Bruce earned the eternal admiration of liberals by using crude racial and sexual terms to show that none of us were really shocked by them. Borat Sagdiyev, the Kazakh persona of British comic Sacha Baron Cohen, uses crude ethnic and sexual terms to show—what exactly? In his new movie, *Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan*, he gets ordinary American audiences to accompany him as he sings about grabbing Jews by the horns and throw-

Hillary's Salvo

"If my husband," Hill said, "had
Read that heads-up"—she was mad—
"He'd have jetted to New York
Like"—I paraphrase—"a stork"
(An avenging stork). "and stopped
All that mess before it popped."
Here's the problem: When the Cole
Got it, Bill's eyes didn't roll.

—W. H. von Dreele

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THE WEEK...

ing them down wells—a Lenny Bruce-ish point. But who is "he"? Anti-Jew, anti-woman, anti-gay, horny (he has a crush on Pamela Anderson): Borat sounds a lot like the 9/11 hijackers, before their murderous rite of purification. Only explicit religious references are missing, but anyone who follows the news can supply them. Is Cohen the one person in the world who can tweak the modern Islamic personality without risking a beheading?

■ We have recently had three confirmations that the worldview of most journalists puts them just to the left of Tim Robbins. On Hugh Hewitt's radio show, former *Washington Post* reporter Tom Edsall ballparked the ratio of Democrats to Republicans in newsrooms as "15–25 to 1." At a PBS panel discussion featuring several prominent journalists, Carl Bernstein asked everyone in the room who voted for Bush to raise his hand—and, lo, no one did. Finally, it was reported that Linda Greenhouse, who covers the Supreme Court for the *New York Times*, gave a speech at Harvard last spring in which she lamented the "sustained assault on women's reproductive freedom and the hijacking of public policy by religious fundamentalism." She also told the audience that, while attending a Simon & Garfunkel concert, she wept over the death of 1960s radicalism. Cheer up, Ms. G.: You and all your colleagues get to press your views from the commanding heights of American journalism. It's others who should be crying.

■ The Fox News Channel celebrates its tenth birthday this month. Fox broke the Revised Standard Version of network and cable news—things happen, we revise them, then that becomes the standard. All the distortion in earlier television news was in a liberal direction. Not that all liberals in the news business distorted: Many wanted, and want, good stories, period. But there was a terrible tropism toward finding them only in the range defined by the Brookings Institution at one end and the PLO at the other. Fox News was launched to cast a wider net. Of course that has reaped them accusations of bias, and of aspirations to Satanic, mind-controlling power. We call it the free press, free at last. Many happy returns.

■ What is a university for? John Henry Newman gave the best-known answer to this question back in 1852. "A university training," he wrote, "aims at raising the intellectual tone of society. . . . It is the education which gives [people] a clear, conscious view of their own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them." That is all old hat nowadays, of course. The function of a modern university is, first, to provide administrative employment for legions of bureaucrats, and second, to promote "diversity." American universities are increasingly combining the two goals. The *Chronicle of Higher Education* reports that Washington State University now has a Chief Diversity Officer with a full-time staff of 55 and a $3 million annual budget. The Victorian British could likely have run India with fewer administrative resources than that . . . But let nothing impede the advance of diversity, especially since the U.S. Supreme Court's 2003 finding that diversity is not only a wonderful thing in itself, it also has *educational* benefits. Intellectual tone? Truth? Eloquence? Plainly Newman was all wet. Rah, diversity!

■ Velasco Elementary School in Freeport, on the Gulf coast of Texas south of Houston, decided to celebrate Mexican Independence Day on September 16—er, sorry, that's "Diez y Seis de Septiembre." The school accordingly held an assembly at which several parent volunteers read a pledge of allegiance to the flag—the Mexican flag, of course. The children in attendance were given flags to hold, also Mexican flags. News of the event was soon coursing through the local talk-radio programs, generating much ire. The embarrassed school principal explained, "We have stated in our mission statement that we are a campus that is a beacon of hope for a culturally diverse population." Right, right. America is a big country, thank goodness, but is it so big that we have room for more than one nation's pledge of allegiance?

■ Americans have a time-honored tradition of ridiculing their enemies through political humor and satire. World War II is the classic example, when goose-stepping Nazis received an almost daily skewering from our best cartoonists and comedians. But that was before the age of political correctness, which withers the petals of humor wherever they may bloom. Witness the other day: A car dealership in Ohio was pressured to withdraw a radio ad that announced "a jihad on the automotive market," complete with a "Fatwa Friday" and "free rubber swords for the kiddies." Sales reps would be wearing burkas, the ad said, and selling vehicles that could "comfortably seat twelve jihadists in the back." The dealership's owner said he thought it was "fair game" to "poke a little fun at radical extremists." But he must not have gotten the memo. One radio-station exec refused to air the ad because it went against his station's mission of "promoting the values of diversity." The Council on American-Islamic Relations resolved to contact the dealership to "offer some kind of cultural- or sensitivity-awareness training." Perhaps the ad was silly. But at least it was a flash of defiance in the face of oppressive PC.

■ Byron Nelson's biggest year was 1945, when he won 18 tournaments on the PGA Tour—and eleven of them in a row. That is one of golf's greatest records. In his relatively brief career, "Lord Byron" won 52 tournaments, including five majors: two Masters, two PGAs, and a U.S. Open. He essentially retired in 1946, age 34, because he had earned enough money to buy the Texas ranch he wanted. There he lived for the remainder of his life. Nelson was known as one of the greatest gentlemen in a sport of gentlemen. He was, indeed, gentle, and religious, and good. He was proof that an athlete need not be obnoxious. Through the decades, he kept his hand in the game, with a tournament named after him, television commentary, and some other activities. Nelson was part of a great golfing triumvirate with Sam Snead and Ben Hogan.

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

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AS HEARD ON PAUL HARVEY NEWS

New advanced portable heater can cut your heating bill up to 50%

Heats a large room in minutes with even heat wall to wall and floor to ceiling

Does not get hot, cannot start a fire and will not reduce humidity or oxygen

A new advanced quartz infrared portable heater, the EdenPURE®, can cut your heating bills by up to 50%.

You have probably heard about the remarkable EdenPURE® as heard on Paul Harvey News and on television features across the nation.

The EdenPURE® can pay for itself in a matter of weeks and then start putting a great deal of extra money in your pocket after that.

A major cause of residential fires in the United States is portable heaters. But the EdenPURE® cannot cause a fire. That is because the quartz infrared heating element never gets to a temperature that can ignite anything.

The outside of the EdenPURE® only gets warm to the touch so that it will not burn children or pets. Pets can sleep on it when it is operating without harm.

The advanced space-age EdenPURE® Quartz Infrared Portable Heater also heats the room evenly, wall-to-wall and floor-to-ceiling. And, as you know, portable heaters only heat an area a few feet around the heater.

Unlike other heating sources, the EdenPURE® cannot put poisonous carbon monoxide into a room or any type of fumes or any type of harmful radiation.

Q. What is the origin of this amazing heating element in the EdenPURE®?

A. This advanced heating element was discovered accidentally by a man named John Jones.

Q. What advantages does infrared quartz tube heating source have over other heating source products?

A. John Jones designed his heating source around the three most important consumer benefits: economy, comfort, and safety.

In the EdenPURE® system, electricity is used to generate infrared light which, in turn, creates a very safe heat.

After a great deal of research and development, very efficient infrared heat chambers were developed that utilize three unique patented solid copper heat exchangers in one EdenPURE® heater.

Q. How can a person cut their heating bill by up to 50% with the EdenPURE®?

A. The EdenPURE® will heat a room in minutes. Therefore, you can turn the heat down in your house to as low as 50 degrees, but the room you are occupying, which has the EdenPURE®, will be warm and comfortable. The EdenPURE® is portable. When you move to another room, it will quickly heat that room also. This can drastically cut heating bills, in some instances, by up to 50%.

The EdenPURE® comes in 2 models. Model 500 heats a room up to 300 square feet and Model 1000 heats a room up to 1,000 square feet.

End of interview.

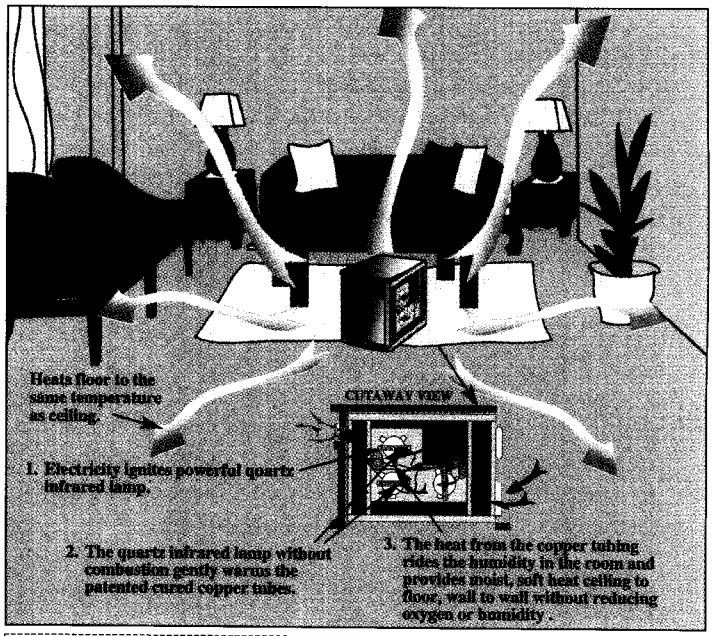
The EdenPURE® will pay for itself in weeks. It will put a great deal of extra money in a users pocket. Because of today's spiraling gas, oil, propane, and other energy costs, the EdenPURE® will provide even greater savings as the time goes by.

Readers who wish can obtain the EdenPURE® Quartz Infrared Portable Heater at a $75 discount if they order in the next 10 days. Please see the Special Readers Discount Coupon on this page. For those readers ordering after 10 days from the date of this publication, we reserve the right to either accept or reject order requests at the discounted price.

Never be cold again

Cannot start a fire; a child or animal can touch or sit on it without harm

How it works:


Heats floor to the same temperature as ceiling.
CUTAWAY VIEW
1. Electricity ignites powerful quartz infrared lamp.
2. The quartz infrared lamp without combustion gently warms the patented cured copper tubes.
3. The heat from the copper tubing rides the humidity in the room and provides moist, soft heat ceiling to floor, wall to wall without reducing oxygen or humidity.

SPECIAL READER'S DISCOUNT COUPON

The price of the EdenPURE® Model 500 is $372 plus $17 shipping for a total of $389 delivered. The Model 1000 is $472 plus $27 shipping and handling for a total of $499 delivered. People reading this publication get a $75 discount with this coupon and pay only $297 delivered for the Model 500 and $397 delivered for the Model 1000 if you order within 10 days. The EdenPURE® comes in the decorator color of black with burled wood accent which goes with any decor. There is a strict limit of 3 units at the discount price - no exceptions please.

Check below which model and number you want:

☐ Model 500, number _____ ☐ Model 1000, number _____

- To order by phone, call TOLL FREE **1-800-284-9557 Ext. EPH2956**. Place your order by using your credit card. Operators are on duty 24 hours, 7 days.
- To order online, log on to www.edenpure.com
- To order by mail, by check or credit card, fill out and mail in this coupon.

This product carries a 60-day satisfaction guarantee. If you are not totally satisfied, your purchase price will be refunded. No questions asked. There is also a one year warranty.

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Check below to get discount:

☐ I am ordering within 10 days of the date of this publication, therefore I get a $75 discount and my price is only $297 for Model 500 and $397 for Model 1000 delivered.

☐ I am ordering past 10 days of the date of this publication, therefore I pay shipping and handling and full price totaling $389 for Model 500 and $499 for Model 1000.

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(Age twelve, he met the latter in a Ft. Worth caddy yard.) All of them are now gone. But Arnie, Jack, and others are still with us. And the 30-year-old Tiger Woods is doing miraculous things. Everyone will cherish the memory of Lord Byron, who died at 94 on his Texas ranch. R.I.P.

■ Tokyo Rose, Axis Sally, Hanoi Jane—a shameful little list. Except that Tokyo Rose was a myth, a name made up by GIs for various female announcers on Radio Tokyo broadcasting Japanese propaganda in the Pacific theater. After the war, a woman by the name of Iva Toguri was fitted up as the culprit. Her story is more far-fetched than a thriller writer could imagine. Born in 1916 in California, Iva was of Japanese descent, but couldn't speak the language, didn't like the food, and attended a Methodist church. Just six months before Pearl Harbor she traveled to Japan to care for a sick aunt, and was then trapped by the outbreak of war. She did indeed broadcast on Radio Tokyo, and what she said was an object lesson in how humor and tones of voice can defeat the purposes of an enemy out to exploit you. Risking her life, she was also secretly helping POWs. Victimized by vengeful federal authorities and the media, she was tried for treason and sentenced to ten years in prison. Ezra Pound, who sincerely broadcast treason, was never treated so harshly. Having served part of this term, Iva went to live in Chicago, where she ran a shop. In 1977, on his last day in office, President Ford put things right by pardoning her. She never complained of unfair treatment, and her father put his finger on it, saying to her, "You stayed American through and through." At the age of 90, this remarkable lady has just died. R.I.P.

AT WAR

Misestimate

A LEAKED portion of the latest National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) says that the Iraq War is being used as a recruiting tool by jihadists around the world, causing Democrats to scream that the war has made us less safe. We don't doubt the contention that the Iraq War has propaganda value for jihadists. The question is what to make of that fact.

First, many things become jihadist recruiting tools, and that's not necessarily a reason to forswear them. The war in Afghanistan is cited by terrorists as a cause of their rage. So are Danish cartoons. This doesn't mean we should pull out of Afghanistan or shut down the free press. We are facing a foe whose ideology is based on hatred of the West, and this foe will find "provocations" no matter what we do.

On the other hand, we can't be indifferent to the effects of our actions on Muslim opinion. Some war supporters have analogized the current conflict to World War II and asked what it would have mattered if, say, the Germans had been angry at our invasion of Italy. The comparison is inapt. World War II was a conventional conflict in which we could destroy the German army and the apparatus of the German state, regardless of German public opinion. In the current war, we are fighting a multifaceted global jihadist insurgency, and it is self-defeating to create more anger toward us unless doing so also promises to produce countervailing long-term strategic benefits.

In Iraq, there *are* such benefits. If we prevail there, we will have destroyed a dictatorship supportive of terrorism and Arab radicalism and replaced it with a government opposed to both of those things. That will be a significant step forward in the War on Terror. The short-term cost is that the war provides a jihadist rallying cry and that terrorists are flocking to Iraq. But they go there to hurl themselves against a U.S. military that is trained to dispatch them to the next world, and very effective at doing so.

If we prevail in Iraq, we will have destroyed a dictatorship supportive of terrorism and Arab radicalism and replaced it with a government opposed to both of those things.

Of course, they also carry out attacks against the Iraqi people. That's why it is a mistake to think that *our* actions in Iraq are the only ones that matter. The extremists' savagery toward innocents is a serious blow to their long-term goal of winning over Muslim hearts and minds. Ayman al-Zawahiri himself has worried about this. If we succeed in creating a stable, democratic Iraqi state, it will be clear that the terrorists are opposed not so much to the "crusaders" and "occupiers" as to the legitimate aspirations of Muslims in the Middle East.

The NIE acknowledges as much: "If democratic reform efforts in Muslim majority nations progress over the next five years, political participation probably would drive a wedge between intransigent extremists and groups willing to use the political process to achieve their local objectives." And it adds, "Should jihadists leaving Iraq perceive themselves, and be perceived, to have failed, we judge fewer fighters will be inspired to carry on the fight." But none of this will come about unless we win in Iraq.

Properly understood, the NIE leak confirms President Bush's argument that Iraq is an important front in the War on Terror, and that achieving victory there is essential.

AT WAR II

Soundness on Detainees

DEMOCRATS were happy to let John McCain and a few other Republicans do their dirty work on the issue of interrogation of terrorism detainees. They thought the Arizona Republican would make President Bush bend to what seemed to be his position that no coercive techniques whatsoever should be permitted against detainees. It turns out that that wasn't McCain's position, although he had been happy to let the press and human-rights groups portray it that way and to soak up the resulting adulation. In the end, McCain cut a sensible deal with the White House that will preserve the CIA interrogation program, prompting an overwhelm-

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ADVERTISMENT

Choose Life
Grow Young with HGH

From the landmark book Grow Young with HGH comes the most powerful, over-the-counter health supplement in the history of man. Human growth hormone was first discovered in 1920 and has long been thought by the medical community to be necessary only to stimulate the body to full adult size and therefore unnecessary past the age of 20. Recent studies, however, have overturned this notion completely, discovering instead that the natural decline of Human Growth Hormone (HGH), from ages 21 to 61 (the average age at which there is only a trace left in the body) and is the main reason why the the body ages and fails to regenerate itself to its 25 year-old biological age.

Like a picked flower cut from the source, we gradually wilt physically and mentally and become vulnerable to a host of degenerative diseases, that we simply weren't susceptible to in our early adult years.

Modern medical science now regards aging as a disease that is treatable and preventable and that "aging", the disease, is actually acompilation of various diseases and pathologies, from everything, like a rise in blood glucose and pressure to diabetes, skin wrinkling and so on. All of these aging symptoms can be stopped-and rolled back by maintaining Growth Hormone levels in the blood at the same levels HGH existed in the blood when we were 25 years old.

There is a receptor site in almost every cell in the human body for HGH, so its regenerative and healing effects are very comprehensive.

Growth Hormone first synthesized in 1985 under the Reagan Orphan drug act, to treat dwarfism, was quickly recognized to stop aging in its tracks and reverse it to a remarkable degree. Since then, only the lucky and the rich have had access to it at the cost of $20,000 US per year.

Many in hollywood's glamour sets, who never seem to age like you or I, have a special secret to tell, and even space pioneer and US Senator John Glen stays vital with HGH.

The next big breakthrough was to come in 1997 when a group of doctors and scientists, developed an all-natural source product which would cause your own natural HGH to be released again and do all the remarkable things it did for you in your 20's. Now available to every adult for about the price of a coffee and donut a day.

GHR now available in America, just in time for the aging Baby Boomers and everyone else from age 30 to 90 who doesn't want to age rapidly but would rather stay young, beautiful and healthy all of the time.

The new HGH releasers are winning converts-from the synthetic HGH users as well, since GHR is just as effective, is oral instead of self-injectable and is very affordable.

GHR is a natural releaser, has no known side effects, unlike the synthetic version and has no known drug interactions. Progressive doctors admit that this is the direction medicine is seeking to go, to get the body to heal itself instead of employing drugs. GHR is truly a revolutionary paradigm shift in medicine and, like any modern leap frog advance, many others will be left in the dust holding their limited, or useless drugs and remedies.

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ing majority of Democrats to vote against the deal in both the House and the Senate.

The Supreme Court's *Hamdan* decision saying Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions applies to terrorists, and the McCain Amendment last year banning "cruel, inhuman, or degrading" treatment of terror detainees, had threatened to shut down that CIA interrogation program. The program had used coercive techniques, including such methods as placing terrorists in cold cells and "waterboarding" them (i.e., simulating drowning), to extract information that probably couldn't have been obtained through more gentle methods, at least not quickly.

The Bush administration wanted to clarify our obligation under Common Article 3 to keep most of the CIA methods legal. McCain objected to monkeying with the Geneva Conventions. So, instead, the same end will be achieved through clarifying "grave breaches" of Common Article 3 in the U.S. War Crimes Act and having President Bush issue an executive order determining what "non-grave breaches" are. This will preserve most of the CIA program, although perhaps not waterboarding (which walks up to the line of torture, but is also very effective by all accounts).

A great virtue of this compromise is that both political branches have spoken clearly to the issue of interrogating unlawful enemy combatants, and agreed that, while torture must be eschewed, aggressive interrogation is legal and necessary. Critics of the interrogation program can no longer lay it solely on President Bush's doorstep. Now it is just as much the program of Congress and of John McCain.

The other major point of contention was the use of hearsay and classified evidence in military commissions that are trying terrorist suspects. The administration compromised and essentially abandoned its insistence on being able to introduce classified evidence in such a way that only the accused's lawyer, not the accused himself, would see it. Now, instead, detainees will get to know the substance of such evidence, while the sources and methods by which it was gathered will be kept secret. Also, detainees at Guantanamo Bay will be granted access to the U.S. court system, but only in a properly circumscribed way. They get to appeal their detention once to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals, and appeal any military-commission verdict once to the same court.

All in all, it is a reasonable system for handling terrorist suspects who may have information that will save lives and whose detention is essential to prosecuting the war. That the Democrats found this objectionable, but weren't even willing to air their objections while McCain was grappling with the White House, is another indication of their wrongheadedness and cowardliness on the war.

AT WAR III

The Finger's Back

THERE'S no doubt that a lot of Republicans enjoyed seeing Bill Clinton again, in full finger-wagging, I-did-not-have-sexual-relations-with-that-woman fury, during his confrontational interview on *Fox News Sunday*. But it was still strange to see the former president go ballistic when asked, by Fox's Chris Wallace, this perfectly reasonable question: "Why didn't you do more, connect the dots, and put [al-Qaeda] out of business?"

It's something Clinton has had five years to think about. And yet his first reaction was to lunge at Wallace and denounce Fox News. "I want to talk about the context in which this arises," Clinton began. "I'm being asked this on the Fox network." Well, yes. A little later, Clinton mused conspiratorially that Wallace "set this meeting up because you were going to get a lot of criticism from your viewers because [Fox owner] Rupert Murdoch is supporting my work on climate change."

Huh?

Clinton didn't make much more sense when he addressed the merits of the question. "At least I tried [to destroy al-Qaeda]," he said. "That's the difference in me and some, including all the right-wingers who are attacking me now. They ridiculed me for trying. They had eight months to try. They did not try. I tried. So I tried and failed. When I failed I left a comprehensive anti-terror strategy."

That's a lot to pack into one soundbite. And none of it holds up under scrutiny. First, on the claim that he "tried" to take out Osama bin Laden, Clinton repeatedly referred viewers to the book *Against All Enemies*, by former White House counterterrorism chief Richard Clarke. But the book shows quite clearly that while, yes, Clinton wanted to do something about al-Qaeda, he always gave up when faced with even slight resistance from the CIA, the FBI, or the Pentagon. Does that qualify as trying? If so, he didn't try very hard.

Nobody took the threat of terrorism seriously enough before 9/11. That includes the man who was president for most of the preceding decade.

Second, Clinton's claim to have left the incoming Bush administration a "comprehensive anti-terror strategy" just doesn't ring true. About a year after the September 11 attacks, *Time* magazine floated the story that in his last months in office Clinton had a grand new plan that was inexplicably ignored by the Bushies. But that report fell apart almost as soon as the magazine came out, when Clarke himself told reporters, "There was no new plan." Wanting to make sure, reporters asked, "No new strategy?" Clarke answered: "Plan, strategy—there was, no, nothing new."

Finally, even a cursory look at the record shows that conservatives by and large supported Clinton's efforts to attack al-Qaeda. "The U.S. missile strikes against terrorist facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan were a response to a real threat," NATIONAL REVIEW said in a September 1998 editorial. "Congressional leaders were therefore right to support President Clinton's action." Does that sound like right-wingers ridiculing Bill Clinton for trying to take out Osama bin Laden?

Nobody took the threat of terrorism seriously enough before 9/11. That includes the man who was president for most of the preceding decade. DNC chairman Howard Dean praises Clinton for standing up to the "right-wing propaganda machine." Would that he had shown the same energy against Osama bin Laden.

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James Webb

■ POLITICS ■

Senator Allen's Webb

The Democrat in Virginia—an unusual fellow—is putting up an unexpected fight

JOHN J. MILLER

JOHN HERRINGTON was driving his car across San Francisco's Bay Bridge, on his way to an amateur boxing match in 1978, when he first heard of James Webb. The young author was on the radio to promote *Fields of Fire*, his just-published novel about the Vietnam War. Herrington might not have remembered the broadcast, if it hadn't been for an exchange in its final moments. The host of the show mentioned that a certain actress was coming to town. There was a long pause. "Jane Fonda can kiss my a**," said Webb. "I wouldn't go across the street to watch her slit her wrist."

Herrington has told this story before—it appears in *The Nightingale's Song*, by Robert Timberg—and he enjoys telling it now, after almost three decades. "Words like that really grab your attention," he says. Herrington eventually helped Webb secure his first job in the Reagan administration, as an assistant secretary of defense. Now Webb is trying to use this experience to get elected to the Senate—as an anti-war Democrat from Virginia. "If [Reagan] was alive today, I think he'd be a Democrat again," said Webb in July. Amazingly, this Fonda-hater is now on the verge of upsetting Republican senator George Allen, a favorite of many conservatives and a first-tier candidate for the GOP presidential nomination in 2008. Several recent polls show Webb trailing Allen by only a few points, in what has become perhaps the nastiest race in the country.

One thing's sure about Webb: He doesn't mince words. In fact, he deploys them to great effect. "He's a poet," says Herrington, who has read each of Webb's six novels. Twenty years ago, Tom Wolfe called him "one of the four or five most important young writers in this country." Years from now, no matter what happens on November 7, people will still read Webb's books and possibly regard him as a top-ranking war novelist, in the vein of Stephen Crane, Erich Maria Remarque, and Nicholas Monsarrat.

Before Webb was a writer he was a war hero. He graduated from Annapolis and went to Vietnam. As a Marine lieutenant in 1969, he used his body to shield a corporal from an exploding grenade. For this and other acts of bravery, he earned the Navy Cross—on the valor scale, that's just a notch below the Medal of Honor. There's still a piece of shrapnel stuck in his head. He went on to earn a law degree from Georgetown, began writing books, and served in the Reagan administration, where he eventually rose to secretary of the Navy.

Webb is now 60, and he's certainly no ordinary Democrat. He grew up in the party of FDR, but the liberalism of the 1970s drove him out. "Jimmy Carter made me a Republican," he said in 1985. Bill Clinton kept him one—or at least kept him away from his political roots: "I cannot conjure up an ounce of respect for Bill Clinton when it comes to the military," Webb said in 1997. "Every time I see him salute a Marine, it infuriates me. I don't think Bill Clinton cares one iota about what happens in a military unit." In 2000, at an event to endorse Allen in his race against Democratic senator Chuck Robb, Webb again opened fire on Clinton: "We are now coming off a period of eight years of the most corrupt administration in modern memory."

This newly minted Democrat doesn't have a very high opinion of John Kerry, either. For years, he refused to shake Kerry's hand on account of his anti-war activism. As Kerry ran for president in

ROMAN GENN

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2004, Webb insisted that the Massachusetts senator continued to owe Vietnam-era veterans "a full and complete apology" because he "defamed a generation of honorable men." Later, in the heat of the campaign, he said that Kerry had "earned the karma" that the Swift Boat veterans visited upon him in their negative ads.

But Webb also says he voted for Kerry because he disagreed so thoroughly with President Bush's policy on Iraq. Webb was in fact an early critic of the war: Writing in the *Washington Post* in 2002, more than six months before the first bombs fell on Baghdad, he warned that "there is no exit strategy if we invade and stay" and that American soldiers in an occupation force "would quickly become 50,000 terrorist targets." But if he seems like a Cassandra today, he was less of one in 1990, when he questioned military action following Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait: "Those who believe we should use [U.S. troops] offensively should realize that this would galvanize the Arab world, invite chemical retaliation and an expansion of the hostilities, produce great numbers of casualties, and encourage worldwide terrorism—in short, open up a Pandora's box." This prediction didn't exactly come true, even as the war solved some problems and created new ones.

Webb once excoriated the Clinton administration for having "a national-security team [that] is composed of people who have never worn a uniform." This is by no means an invalid observation: Military experience is an important asset for political leaders to possess, and today there are fewer and fewer veterans in Washington's halls of power. Yet when Webb raises this point in the context of a specific policy disagreement, he often sinks to ad hominem name-calling. During a debate with Allen on September 17, as the candidates argued about Iraq, Webb quoted something his son recently told him: "Dad, you were—you fought in Vietnam. George Allen didn't fight in Vietnam. Even the French fought in Vietnam!" A few minutes later, Webb described the architects of Hussein's ouster as "theorists who have never been on a battlefield, who have never put a uniform on." As if any of this were relevant. (Last year, incidentally, a Pew Research Center poll found that 64 percent of male veterans believed that U.S. troops should remain in Iraq until it's stabilized, compared to 55 percent of non-veteran men.)

Conservatives have long admired Webb for his tough talk. In 2000, he likened affirmative action to "state-sponsored racism that is as odious as the Jim Crow laws it sought to countermand"—blistering words, even for a critic of the practice. He added that these policies are enforced by "a Soviet-style bureaucracy of political commissars." In the 1970s, he criticized the sexual integration of the U.S. Naval Academy: "I have never met a woman . . . whom I would trust to provide [soldiers] with combat leadership." He also stood up for the Navy during the Tailhook scandal, lamenting that the "inexcusable harassment of women" had transformed into a reckless "witch hunt" that destroyed upright careers. This has prompted Allen to launch ham-handed, quasi-feminist attacks on Webb that are meant to influence female voters. These may backfire, reminding conservatives that Webb is unafraid to buck political correctness.

Webb does John Edwards one better, with his references to 'three Americas'—the carefree rich, the outsourced middle, and the wage-slave poor.

Except that this is no longer as true as it once was. Webb has retreated from his principled opposition to affirmative action, now saying that racial preferences should be either limited to native-born blacks or else expanded to include poor whites. This isn't exactly in line with liberal dogma, but it signifies a clear departure from his previous view. What's more, Webb's most recent book, a nonfiction history of Scots-Irish culture, contains a heartfelt passage that condemns the "Nazification of the Confederacy"—i.e., allowing "revisionist politicians and academics" to demonize every aspect of southern history. Yet Webb has watched silently as his surrogates have tried to paint Allen as a racist for owning a collection of Confederate flags and wearing a stars-and-bars lapel pin in a high-school yearbook photo. By the end of September, the two campaigns were involved in a tedious shouting match over which candidate had uttered fewer racial epithets.

If this mad dash to seize the low ground has been a disappointment to the normally cerebral Webb, he hasn't said so. Perhaps that's because these distractions have called attention away from all of the liberal positions he has publicly adopted since becoming a Democratic candidate: He's pro-choice on abortion, supports civil unions for gays, wants to repeal the Bush tax cuts, bashes Wal-Mart, and has said he would have voted against confirming Samuel Alito to the Supreme Court. Former Democratic senator John Edwards, who stumped for Webb on September 26, likes to give a class-warfare speech about the haves and have-nots who live in "two Americas." Webb does him one better, with his references to "three Americas"—the carefree rich, the outsourced middle, and the wage-slave poor. At times, Webb has sounded patently ridiculous: "We are in danger of developing a permanent underclass, without true hope of advancement," he said in an interview on the Daily Kos website. "We are starting to look a bit like Manila—walled communities, different schools for the elites, and people living out of boxes."

Still, in the space of several months, Webb has gone from being an untested candidate facing long odds against a GOP Goliath to a slight underdog in a tight race against a roughed-up opponent. Allen may yet recover from his gaffes and strategic blunders, spend like crazy, and eke out a narrow victory. But whatever happens, the race is bound to have repercussions beyond this fall: If Webb prevails, he may provide Democrats with the surprise win they need in order to gain control of the Senate. If he loses, he may well run again in the near future—especially if the situation in Iraq remains dicey and Virginia's other Republican senator, the 79-year-old John Warner, doesn't seek reelection. More immediately, however, he will have done Democrats a huge favor by turning a red-state contest into a close call and delivering a hard blow to Allen's prospects in 2008. At a minimum, Webb may have the makings of a novel about how politics is war by other means. **NR**

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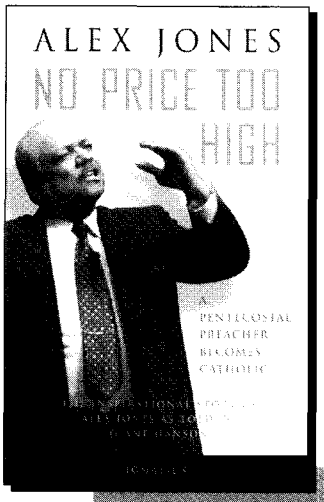

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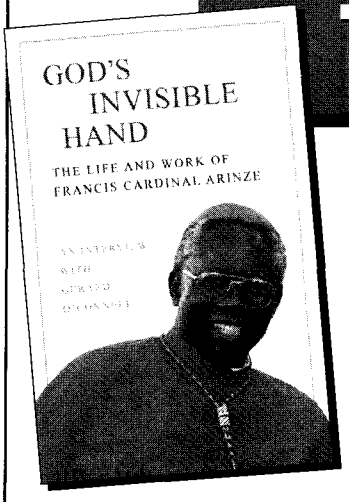

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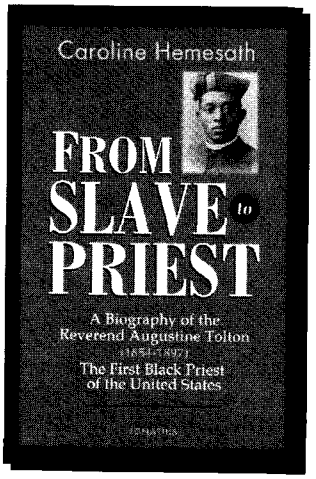
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■ POLITICS II

There Goes Lindsey, Again

South Carolina conservatives are tired of Senator Graham's act

BYRON YORK

THERE'S a little joke, a throwaway line, really, that South Carolina senator Lindsey Graham often uses when he addresses audiences in his home state. "We change senators every 50 years," Graham says. "Thanks for the job."

Audiences usually smile at the allusion to Graham's long-serving predecessors in the Senate, Strom Thurmond and Ernest Hollings. But these days, among some conservative activists in the South Carolina Republican party, Graham's joke is wearing a little thin. *We* decide how long senators keep their job, those activists say. And watch out, Senator Graham—there's no guarantee you'll get those 50 years.

In the last few weeks, unhappiness with Graham has been running high after his open challenge to George W. Bush on the issue of terrorist detainees. It was, in fact, the mood of the day when the party's executive committee met in Columbia on September 16. "There was pretty strong frustration," recalls attendee Cyndi Mosteller, chairman of the Charleston County GOP (and a Graham supporter). "There's been a general sense of strong disagreement with his challenging of Bush on that issue" (the detainees).

"I spent days in phone banks to get Senator Graham elected here in South Carolina," says Kristin Maguire, another party activist who was at the meeting. "To have someone you worked that hard for—it's very frustrating that the guy we sent up there to work with President Bush ends up being a thorn in his side."

"It was like, 'There he goes again,'" says yet another activist who was there. "He keeps poking at his own party or poking at the president."

They are not isolated examples. "A lot of people have been talking about Lindsey being off the reservation lately," says David Woodard, a political scientist at Clemson University who managed Graham's first and second campaigns for Congress, in 1994 and 1996. "They are real discouraged with his lack of support for the president, and with mid-terms coming up the feeling is that Lindsey has helped the cause of the Democrats and hurt the cause of the Republicans."

Things got so intense that, on September 21, when the *Greenville News* ran a front-page story headlined, "Graham Under Fire for Tribunal Stand," the lead of the story speculated about a Republican challenge to Graham in 2008. The senator's stand on detainees, the paper reported, had become "the catalyst for dissident conservatives to begin discussing the possibility of wooing Ambassador David Wilkins [a prominent state political figure who is now ambassador to Canada] to challenge his 2008 renomination."

It seems unlikely that Wilkins will lead the charge—he hasn't shown much interest in it—and another person who has been mentioned as a potential challenger to Graham, state treasurer candidate Thomas Ravenel, recently said he wouldn't run against the senator, either. But a lot of political observers now believe that *somebody* will challenge Graham in the 2008 Republican primary. And that challenger will find support among some of the state's most conservative voters.

Criticism from the right has forced Graham into damage-control mode. In his speeches at home, he has been emphasizing his agreements with President Bush. And in a recent op-ed in state newspapers, he portrayed himself as standing side-by-side with the president. "President Bush and I shared the same goal," he wrote. "President Bush and I both want to put terrorists on trial. . . . From the start, I agreed with President Bush on 90 percent of his proposed solution."

Talk like that will probably help cool things down. But there's no doubt the detainee matter has done some damage to Graham. The question is, will the damage prove fleeting, or will it be more lasting?

With Graham, that's a complicated question. The answer lies not just in voters' feelings toward Graham but also in their feelings toward his closest ally in the Senate, John McCain of Arizona, who needs to win the South Carolina primary if he is to clinch the Republican presidential nomination in 2008. At the peak of the detainee standoff, the state GOP headquarters in Columbia received between 150 and 200 e-mails—quite a large number—blasting Graham, and also McCain. State officials hadn't received so many angry messages since conservative activists accused the Senate leadership of backing down on the "nuclear option" in the standoff over the president's judicial nominees. People say they've gotten tired of what one of Graham's colleagues in Washington called "The John and Lindsey Show."

Though the irritation is real, aides and advisers to both senators see the latest controversy as a minor blemish in an otherwise encouraging political scene. "The last time I did polling, [Graham] was the most popular Republican in the state," says Richard Quinn, who is McCain's top pollster and strategist in South Carolina. "He's fine. This two-week technical dispute over legal issues that weren't at all understood by the country—I think that controversy is over now."

Graham's spokesman, Kevin Bishop, says much the same thing. He also points out that there were lots of complaints about the senator in 2000, when he sided with McCain in the state's very rough presidential primary. "After that race, there were people who wrote that Lindsey Graham had irreparably harmed his chances of being in the U.S. Senate," Bishop says. "Two years later, the first time the seat came open in 48 years, he won without a primary and was elected with 54 percent of the vote."

It's probably true that there won't be any lasting damage from the detainee dustup. But the problem for Graham and McCain is not this most recent conflict. The problem is that such conflicts have become a recurring affair; conservatives in South Carolina feel certain that in the next couple of years, Graham and McCain will find other ways to irritate the Republican base. And that, they say, points to a bigger problem: Graham and McCain's true weakness is not that they're not conservative enough—both men have solid enough records on that

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About Your Professor

Dr. David Roochnik is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Boston University. He won Boston University's Gitner Award in 1997 for excellence and the 1999 Metcalf Prize for campuswide teaching excellence. He is author of three books on Plato and more than 30 articles on a wide range of subjects in classical Greek philosophy and literature.

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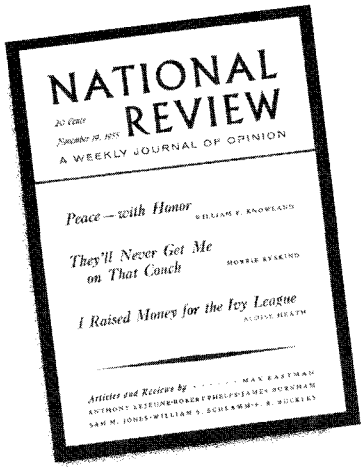
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score—but that they are overly fond of the publicity they receive when they break with their own party.

Just look at the detainee standoff. Throughout the negotiations on terrorist interrogation, Graham and McCain weren't really all that far from the White House. Some of their differences were barely differences at all: They wanted to allow most aggressive interrogating techniques, only with a different legal justification than the one favored by White House lawyers. There was an important disagreement involved, but it hardly needed to be the stuff of a major standoff.

At the same time, the president's opponents in the Democratic party and in the media were projecting onto Graham and McCain their desire for someone to take a courageous stand against the misdeeds of George W. Bush. Media reports portrayed Graham and McCain as doing just that, and the two men—the Republican rebels—basked in the positive publicity.

That's the picture conservatives in South Carolina saw on television, and they didn't like it. And then, when the detainee-treatment agreement was reached and it became clear that the differences between the senators and the president had been relatively small, people began to wonder: What was *that* all about? For some, the answer was that it was about posturing from Graham and McCain. That's not entirely true—there were some serious issues involved—but it's not an unreasonable way to read the situation if you're looking at it from South Carolina.

And so what really got Graham into hot water with voters at home was not the substance of his stand on the detainee matter but the way he and McCain played to the national media. "Folks in the base, they see that, and they say, 'Look, you've got a problem, you go talk to the president privately,'" says one local Republican pol. "'Don't do this in public, especially six weeks before an election.'" Conservatives in South Carolina don't believe Graham is soft on terrorism, but they do believe he's too eager to win the approval of the *New York Times* and the network newscasts. "People laugh and joke," says the GOP pol, "but I think the conservative base here is just getting a little fed up." **NR**

■ **POLITICS III**

'Poll Tax!' They Cry

The Democratic response—written in stone

JAY NORDLINGER

I DON'T know about you, but when I go to vote on a Tuesday morning, I just waltz into my polling place, say, "Hi, I'm Jay," and proceed to the booth. Then I vote for the most right-wing candidates I can find. This doesn't mean much on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, but it provides a certain satisfaction.

I'm not asked for any proof that I am who I say I am, or that I live in the neighborhood, or that I'm an American citizen, or that I'm not on the lam from Sing Sing. The ladies just smile at me (if they're in a decent mood), and in I go.

Given how regulated a society we are—it can be an ordeal just to obtain a library card—it's amazing that voting is so easy, or lax, if you like. And this doesn't sit well with many conscientious citizens.

I have a friend who's as stubborn and principled as his name (which I will drop): Solzhenitsyn. When he goes to vote—Philadelphia area—he takes his passport with him. He virtually insists that the poll workers look at it. But they won't, acting as though that would be a criminal offense.

Which brings us to the Federal Election Integrity Act, better known as the Voter ID Bill. It passed the House on September 20, pretty much on party lines: The Republicans were for, the Democrats against.

Under this bill, you would have to show a photo ID to vote in a federal election, starting in 2008. (That gives you two years to get your act together.) Starting in 2010, you would have to show the kind of ID that proves you're an American citizen, too. This builds on what's called the Real ID Act, approved last year. An anti-terror measure, it establishes national standards for such items as driver's licenses. And the Carter-Baker commission on elections—

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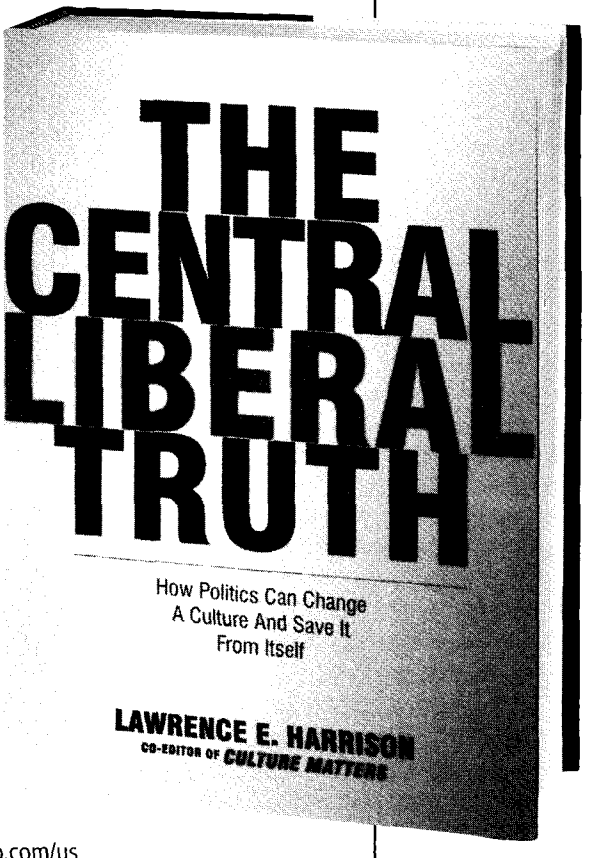
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that would be the 39th president and the former secretary of state—urged that ID be required for voting.

All right. But what if you don't have the proper ID and can't afford to get one? Under the Voter ID Bill, the government would pay. And what if you happen to forget your ID on Election Day? You may cast a provisional ballot, and come back with your ID within two days.

Sponsors of the bill say that this is a commonsense law to curb fraud and protect the integrity of the electoral process. Michigan congressman Vernon Ehlers said, "Our voting rights are too important to rely on an honor system." (Such as we have at my place.) Supporters also point out that we have to show photo ID for a great many things in society: to drive; to board a plane; to enter government buildings; to cash a check; to apply for student loans, or Social Security, or Medicare, or Medicaid, or food stamps. You even have to show a photo ID to rent a movie. As Ehlers commented, "This is not a new concept."

As of now, 24 states require some sort of identification at the polls, and seven of those require a photo ID. These measures have been challenged in court, and will be for a long time to come. The new bill, of course, would impose a federal requirement.

And every time somebody—usually the Republican party—suggests a tightening of the voting rules, we have our national drama: One side cries race, and, more specifically, "Poll tax!" And the other side—the Republican side—says, "I'm not a racist. I just want honest elections." It has been observed that most situations in life remind Jesse Jackson of Selma. So too, any attempt at electoral reform reminds some people of the poll tax. The poll tax, as you know, was a vicious thing that kept southern blacks from voting until it was abolished in 1964 by the Twenty-fourth Amendment.

After the Voter ID Bill passed the House, the whole Democratic universe said "Poll tax." Rep. Nancy Pelosi, the Woman Who Would Be Speaker, threw in "literacy tests" and "grandfather clauses." Sen. Harry Reid spoke of a "dark era," Sen. John Kerry of "the Jim Crow era." You can sing along, you know these tunes. Atlanta congressman John Lewis—a bona fide civil-rights figure—took to the floor to say, "We fought too long, fought too hard, and suffered too long for the right to vote. People died to participate in the democratic process. We must not turn back the clock."

Maybe when he reflects on that statement, at some cooler date, he will be slightly ashamed of it.

Responding to the chorus of "poll tax," Republican congressman Henry Hyde tried to explain, "Voters who cannot afford an ID will be issued one for free. That's some kind of poll tax—that somebody else pays for." But once you've said "poll tax" or "Jim Crow," you've pretty much ended the debate. Race is the greatest conversation-stopper in America.

The *New York Times*, naturally, did its best to pile on. Its editorial began, "One of the cornerstones of the Republican Party's strategy for winning elections these days is voter suppression." Referring to the House bill, it continued, "The Senate should not go along with this cynical, un-American electoral strategy." Remember the rule: When you call a Democratic idea "un-American," you're McCarthy; when you call a Republican idea "un-American," you're a patriot.

Before it finished, the *Times* warned that "if this bill passed the Senate and became law, the electorate would likely become more middle-aged, whiter and richer"—three strikes and you're out!

Some days later, the paper published a reporting piece, the star of which was one Eva Charlene Steele. She appeared in the opening paragraph and the last. Mrs. Steele is a 57-year-old woman who needs a wheelchair and lives in an assisted-living facility in Arizona. She told the *Times* that it is impossible for her to obtain the ID that the state requires for voting. She has submitted an affidavit in a lawsuit. She feels particularly angry, she said, "because my son is fighting now in Iraq for others to have the right to vote, and I can't." Thus did the *Times* hit the anecdotal jackpot.

Of course, the other side—the pro-reform side—has a store of anecdotes of its own: about illegals being registered en masse, about dogs and cats and dead people on the rolls, etc. (Strange how pets and dead people tend to prefer Democrats.) Earlier this year, a Democratic candidate in California made a little news when she told a Latino audience, "You don't need papers for voting." I'm not sure she was wrong.

Usually, Democrats take care to throw Hispanics into their litany of the disenfranchised, along with the poor, the old, and the disabled. Sometimes the rural are included. And, after Voter ID passed, Ted Kennedy even mentioned "members of some religious faiths." I think he may mean that Saudi-style Muslims aren't so hot on photos, especially for their women. I'm not sure. But I imagine that Republicans, in their reasonableness, would welcome religious exemptions—as in Quakers and the draft.

But at the core of Democratic rhetoric is race, and the special history of black Americans. As I said, everything is Selma and the poll tax. And I've often wondered

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The Federal Election Integrity Act in the minds of Democrats, or at least their rhetoric

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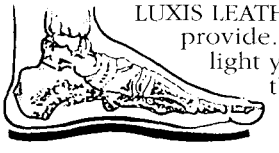

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why black Americans, in a vocal and organized way, don't take offense: at the manipulation of history, and its attendant cheapening; and especially at the suggestion of ineptitude.

The NAACP might put out a statement that said, "Thanks for your concern, dear white liberals, but we can show an ID as well as anybody else. We aren't peculiarly handicapped in this respect, or any other. Hard as it may be to believe, we even board airplanes, every day. Some of us even fly a few. And you should see us rent movies!"

But the NAACP never says anything like that. It merely joins the Kennedys and the Pelosis in accusing the Republicans of an electoral lynching.

Back in President Clinton's first term, the country had a debate over "Motor Voter," that floodgate to fraud. A piece in these pages ended sighingly: "We must question the motives of those who have made voting the only government-sponsored activity that does not require an ID." The terms of the debate really haven't changed; everyone is playing his expected part, saying the expected things. (That includes me.)

But the stance of the public is pretty clear. According to an NBC-*Wall Street Journal* poll, 81 percent support Voter ID. And with support like that, a bill ought to be a piece of cake, politically. But the House Republicans are fairly brave to press forward with Voter ID. The reason is the toxicity of our racial politics. Electoral reform brings you almost nothing but grief. Who needs John Lewis telling you you're the modern-day Bull Connor? No one's sure whether Voter ID will pass the Senate, or even be taken up by it, anytime soon.

Speaking for the bill, Congressman Ehlers acknowledged that Voter ID would be controversial. "I wish it were not so. It seems we should all be able to agree that voting should be limited to citizens of the United States, because that has been the law for years. If we can agree on that, we should be able to agree that our voting systems must have procedures in place to ensure it."

Yeah, lots of luck. There may come a day when you can propose ballot reform without being called a racist; but it isn't here, and, if I were you, I wouldn't wait up nights. **NR**

■ **AT WAR**

Down at Gitmo

A visit to the world's most controversial prison

RICHARD LOWRY

Guantanamo Bay, Cuba

WHEN most people think of the detention facility here, they conjure up images of "Camp X-Ray." That was the makeshift facility—basically chain-link fence enclosures—where detainees were first held when brought here in 2002. The facility had once been used to house migrant criminals, and it was used for only four months for detainees before they were moved to newly built modern facilities. But pictures of Camp X-Ray were all over the press and still are used to illustrate Gitmo stories today, even though the spot has been overgrown with weeds for years.

That's only one way in which Gitmo has a bad name. It has become a watchword for all that the Left abhors about the War on Terror. But it's hard to see how the facility here could be improved. It certainly is no cause for scandal. Murderous fanatics who still believe in their extremist ideology and yearn to kill Americans are being kept from the battlefield and held in the only circumstances that make sense—namely, extremely secure ones.

Even in these straitened circumstances, many of the detainees try to maintain their fight against America, in any way possible, no matter how small. One camp had to be retrofitted because detainees were taking apart the push-button faucets in their cells to get at a metal spring inside that they would stretch out to be used as a weapon. The Asian-style toilets on the floors of the cells used to have foot-rests, until the detainees started wrenching them from the floor to use them as bludgeoning weapons. The guards are routinely splashed with urine and feces, and wear chest protectors and sometimes neck protectors to protect against stabbing.

The detainees have been known to try to kick their soccer balls out of their recreation area into barbed wire, to cost the infidels the price of one ball. And their social attitudes are about what you would expect. Because they love soccer, they were shown tapes of the World Cup earlier this year, but they destroyed the TV when commercials featuring women came on.

The man in charge here, Adm. Harry Harris, believes there is an active al-Qaeda cell among the detainees. All the significant disturbances or suicides have taken place in the camps where security has been loosened. It was in Camp 4, where the best-behaved detainees are allowed to live communally, that a minor riot took place last spring. A detainee faked a suicide attempt to lure the guards into the living area, where the floor had been smeared with urine, feces, and soap. When the guards slipped, the detainees attacked them with light fixtures, parts of fans, and broken security cameras.

Admiral Harris says his conclusion was, "There is no such thing as a medium-security terrorist." A new camp that was being built to medium-security specifications is now being made more secure, including removing any possible means of suicide. All the detainees have been moved out of Camp 4, except for a group of Afghans who didn't participate in the disturbance. When representatives of the Afghan government visited here recently, their advice to their countrymen was, "Stay away from the Arabs"—sound counsel given that the Arabs tend to be the most radical of the detainees.

Gitmo has been portrayed as a vast black hole for terrorist detainees. But it is a very modest effort. The U.S. has detained roughly 100,000 enemy fighters on the battlefield. Most of those have been in Iraq (and none of that group has ended up in Gitmo). Some 10,000 were caught in Afghanistan. Fewer than 100 detainees have been in the special CIA program where harsh "alternative" interrogation techniques are employed, and only the top 800 from Afghanistan have been sent to Gitmo.

While always mindful that they are dealing with dangerous men (who are always shackled when in the presence of the guards), the Americans do their utmost to treat them humanely, even sensitively. Seemingly every surface has a small paint-

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On August 22, 2006 the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals granted a new trial for a Virginia pain specialist who was recently sentenced to 25 years for mis-prescribing narcotics. The Court ruled that the trial judge erred when he refused to let the jury hear the doctor's basic defense - that he intended to help these people. The 4th Circuit decision means that doctors acting "in good faith" have a right to let the jury hear that evidence.[1]

Two weeks later there was another hopeful sign, this time from the Drug Enforcement Administration. The agency's latest policy statement makes a serious attempt to reassure doctors that they will not be targeted just for prescribing large quantities of opiates.[2]

The agency also reversed course on their prohibition against multiple prescriptions. Once again patients who have difficulty getting to the doctor will be able to obtain their medicine for up to three months.[3]

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ed arrow pointing toward Mecca. Every detainee gets a Koran, and should it be necessary to search one it is done by one of the Muslim translators, not the guards. After the Supreme Court's *Hamdan* decision, Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions became almost wallpaper, posted all over the place in every language spoken by the detainees.

The detainees are amply fed. They are offered 4,200 calories a day. They don't have to eat it all, but the idea is to offer them choices. U.S. combat troops get 3,800 calories. The average detainee has gained 18 pounds, and one detainee went from 215 to 410 pounds. Visiting reporters are fed the same lunch as the detainees: a hot Middle Eastern meat dish (unidentifiable to this Western palate), along with vegetables, egg shavings, and tuna fish; plus yogurt, a couple of bananas, several granola bars, and a piece of homemade baklava to mark Ramadan, when the detainees always get sweets. They get fresh-baked bread three times a day.

Letters between detainees and their habeas lawyers are protected by attorney-client privilege, even though Admiral Harris thinks it is being abused to pass messages among detainees. The medical care is first-rate. Vaccinations, drugs, surgical procedures, and prosthetics are all provided. (The prosthetics are so good, detainees have been known to play soccer on them.) Screening for colon cancer is offered for detainees age 50 or older. And a detainee with a toothache at 3 A.M. can get dental care within hours, faster than most people in the States. Some of the detainees are in psychotherapy, and have hour-and-half sessions with their psychologists, which are also kept confidential. (Although apparently very few detainees are depressed.)

All of this has led some conservatives to conclude that the detainees are being coddled. But being held in a single cell in a maximum-security prison is not fun in any circumstance, and a Koran, prayer time, and decent food and medical care is what we owe the detainees in terms of humane treatment. What are we supposed to do—feed them bread and water?

On the other hand, liberal critics often allege that the facility here is full of innocent men. But they were first screened at the point of capture on the battlefield and then at a detention facility in Afghanistan. A Combat Status Review Tribunal examined each detainee upon arrival here, and now an Annual Review Board acts like a parole board. Eventually, many of them will go before military commissions. Roughly 300 detainees have been released or transferred for detention in another country. Of those, officials believe as many as 50 have returned to the fight and roughly 20 have been confirmed to have done so. Nonetheless, another 130 out of 460 are still set to be transferred or released.

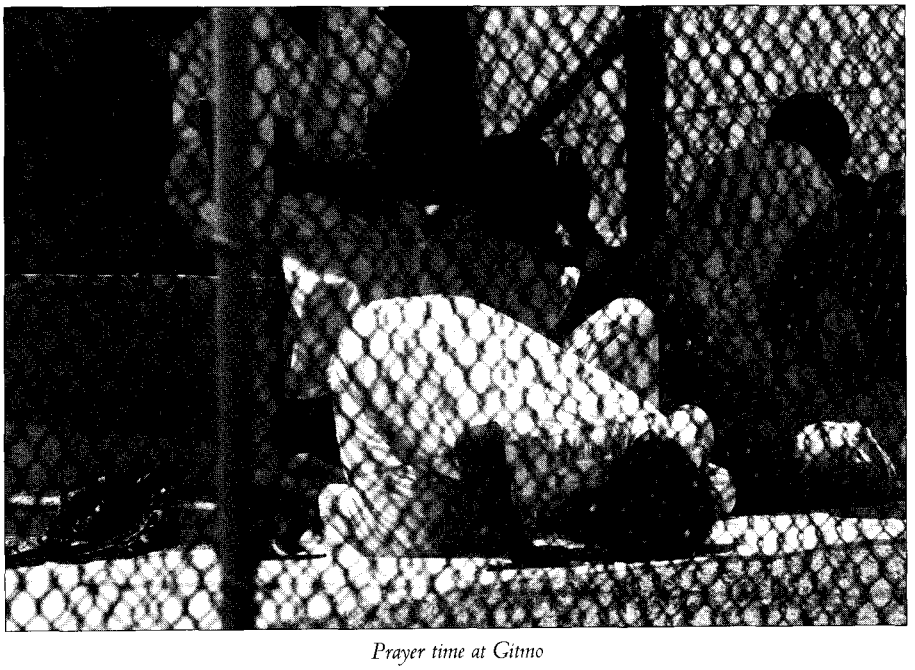
The rest are considered too dangerous. One detainee has said that 85 percent of the Saudis would return to the fight if released. Roughly 125 detainees are still being interrogated. Just last year an extremist cell of North Africans was broken up in Italy, based partly on information gleaned here. Last fall, FBI sketch artists were able to depict a wanted al-Qaeda official from the Konar Province of Afghanistan, thanks to input from three Saudi detainees. It is thought that the bomb-makers in custody can give some insight into the ongoing IED threat in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The interrogations are in keeping with the Army Field Manual. Although one detainee, the man who is thought to be the 20th hijacker in the 9/11 plot, was subjected to harsh techniques early on, now interrogators rely exclusively on the soft sell. Detainees sit in a La-Z-Boy chair during interrogations (although shackled to the floor), and beverages and movies are available to put them at their ease. The most effective interrogator is said to be an older woman who adopts a nurturing posture toward the detainees who consider her something of a mother or older-sister figure.

Given their rotten duty, one would expect morale to be low here among the U.S. troops, but the opposite seems the case. Whenever a guard is hit with bodily fluids, he is offered the rest of his twelve-hour shift off. But the guards always ask to go back on duty with their comrades. What everyone here seems to realize—both the troops and the detainees—is that they are involved in an ongoing conflict.

The detainees are aware of the power of the media, and time suicide attempts, hunger strikes, and disturbances when they think they will get the most attention—when habeas lawyers are on the island and reporters are present. Suicide is illegal in the Koran, but is acceptable for a higher good—in this case, the attempt to give Gitmo and the United States a black eye. In response, the principle among their guards is always to respond to any provocation with the minimal possible force, to avoid giving critics any new propaganda.

The motto of the troops here is "Honor-bound to defend freedom." Surely, they would prefer to be doing it in some other way, but they carry out their duty anyway, with honor. **NR**



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Prayer time at Gitmo

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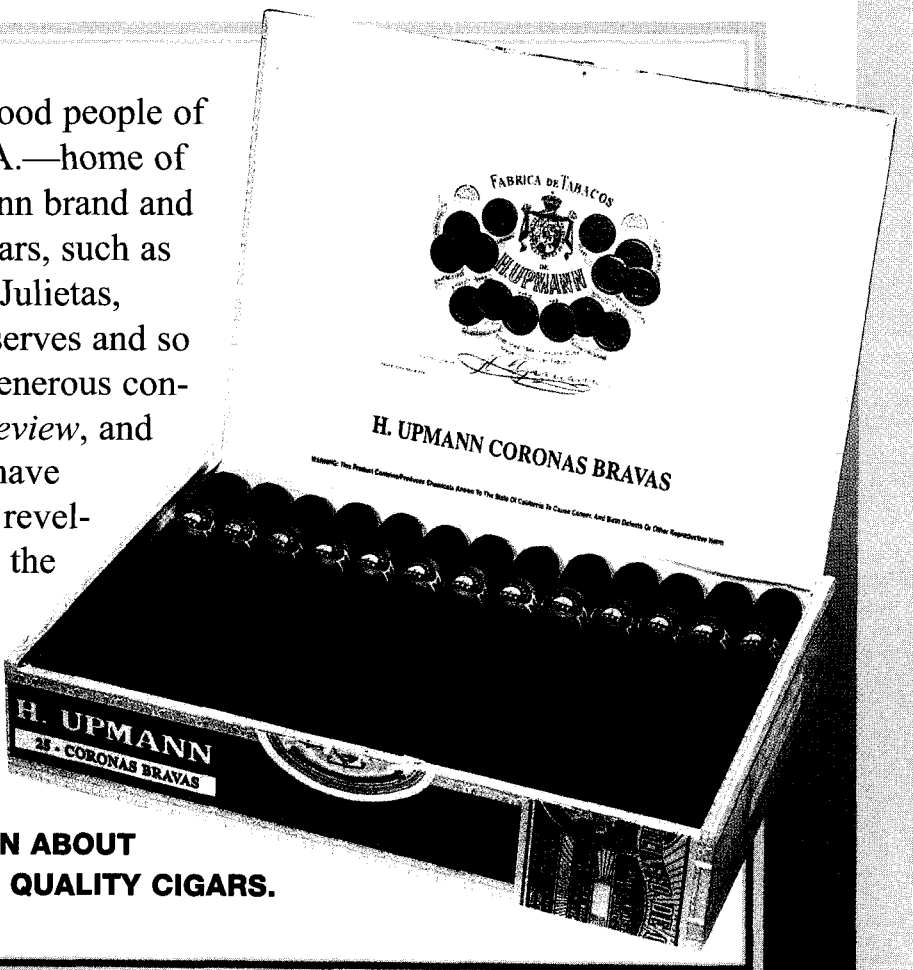

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■ COVER STORY

Can Iran Be Deterred?

A question we cannot afford to get wrong

JASON LEE STEORTS

IRAN'S rulers want nuclear weapons, and the carrot-sans-stick diplomacy of Europe is not changing their minds. Neither is the U.N. Security Council, which is too fractured, and too dependent on Iranian oil, to impose effective sanctions. We have not reached the dead end of the diplomatic alley quite yet, but in all likelihood the United States will eventually have to decide whether it is willing to fight a war to stop Iran from going nuclear.

The answer to that question depends largely on how dangerous we think a nuclear Iran would be. And here there are two views. The first view—and, in my opinion, the correct one—is that Iran's building even a single atomic bomb would constitute a uniquely terrifying threat for which there is no obvious historical parallel. The second view is that, rotten though the Iranian regime may be, we have seen fiercer foes, we deterred and contained them, and we can do it again: so relax.

Jonathan Rauch expressed this second view in a recent issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*:

> Here are some things we have seen before: a nuclear-armed country with a brittle and aggressive ideology, world-revolutionary aspirations, and a belief in the historic inevitability of its triumph against a decadent and ultimately hollow West. In that country, an unpopular and divided regime, with hard-liners and relative pragmatists squabbling for influence. A crumbling, resource-dependent economy. A paranoid worldview in which America is an omnipresent military and ideological threat. A tactical predilection for supporting and manipulating insurgent proxies around the world, instead of engaging in direct confrontations. Above all, a belief that nuclear weapons are strategically essential to deter the United States and maintain national prestige.
>
> Yes—but the Soviet Union was deterrable.

And with that last sentence he begins to go wrong. For what does it even mean to say that the Soviet Union was deterrable? Surely not that it was necessarily so. The men who ruled the USSR avoided a nuclear confrontation with the U.S., but this does not prove that other men would have made the same choice had they come to power instead. Nor does it prove that any particular Soviet leader would have avoided nuclear war under all conceivable scenarios. Rauch writes, "Only in hindsight is it evident that [Stalin and Khrushchev] were deterrable." But suppose Stalin and Khrushchev had found themselves in less irenic circumstances. What if, for example, Kennedy had listened to Curtis LeMay and bombed Cuba during the missile crisis? Would Khrushchev still have been deterrable? Or would he have ended civilization?

Does Jonathan Rauch know the answer?

The point is that the decision of enemy nuclear powers not to obliterate each other is always the product, in large part, of happy historical contingencies. As deterrence theorist Keith Payne has written, "Even very lethal threats . . . cannot bring to an end the enormous capacity of leaders to have poor judgment, impaired rationality, to pursue 'unreasonable' goals and embrace unreasonable values, to be ignorant, passionate, foolish, arrogant, or selectively attentive to risks and costs, and to base their actions on severely distorted perceptions of reality." Because leaders can fail in any of the ways Payne describes—and because even the wisest of them eventually get around to dying—no regime is deterrable in its essential nature. If you are counting on deterrence to save you, you had better be damned lucky.

For the sake of argument, though, let's pretend that the Soviet Union *would* have been deterrable in *any* conceivable circumstance. Does it follow that the same is true of Iran? Rauch concedes that "no one knows, and no one wants to find out"; yet the whole thrust of his argument is that our experience in the Cold War should put our minds at ease as we contemplate a nuclear mullahcracy. The parallel between Iran and the Soviet Union is far from exact, however, and there is good reason to worry.

SCENARIOS BAD AND WORSE

In thinking about how deterrable Iran might be, it is useful to ask what we want to deter it from doing. And there are, broadly speak-

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ing, two groups of answers. First are what I shall call the doomsday scenarios, those involving the detonation of a nuclear weapon. Second, Iran could lash out in a variety of conventional ways that are less apocalyptic but still enormously destructive to U.S. interests. Let's take these possibilities in turn.

If Iran used a nuclear weapon against the West—or gave one to a terrorist proxy that did the same—the West's response would almost surely be a regime-destroying counterstrike. The mullahs know this, which is why the doomsday scenarios are often dismissed as too unlikely to warrant serious consideration. But to say that the regime would not seek its own destruction is not to say that it would never consider the use of nuclear weapons to be in its interest.

Imagine, for example, that the regime found itself fighting a conventional war against the United States, or facing an internal revolution that it suspected the U.S. of fomenting. (Once Iran had nuclear weapons, both of these scenarios would become much less likely, for reasons that I shall discuss below. But neither would be inconceivable.) Imagine, further, that the regime believed its downfall to be inevitable. Can we rule out the possibility that it would avenge itself by using its nuclear weapons before the bitter end?

Actual American intentions in such a scenario would matter much less than the regime's perception of American intentions, and the depth of its paranoia would not help it draw realistic conclusions. Here is Hassan Abassi, a theoretician of the Revolutionary Guards: "[America's] goal is nothing less than the destruction of the [Iranian] regime and of Islam—or, at the very least, regime change. . . . [Its] program today is to dismantle Iran into seven countries, and to exploit its ethnic disputes." And here is Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei: "The attack on Lebanon [i.e., Israel's recent war with Hezbollah] was planned in advance, and was a Zionist-American operation—a first step towards taking control over the Middle East and over the Muslim world."

The danger that the West might unwittingly cause a nuclear-armed Iran to feel that both it and Islam face an existential threat is probably greater than the analogous danger during the Cold War. We had diplomatic ties with Moscow, and an embassy there. As U.S. ambassador, Llewelyn Thompson had become acquainted with Khrushchev, and his familiarity with the Soviet leader proved invaluable during the Cuban Missile Crisis. It enabled him to advise President Kennedy—correctly—that Khrushchev would back down if he could do so without losing too much face. The psychology of Iran's leaders, by contrast, is a great question mark. Ray Takeyh of the Council on Foreign Relations put the point nicely in his recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "In all countries, there's a gap between public declaration of officials and their private perception. In the case of Iran, that gulf is the Atlantic Ocean."

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ISSUES & INSIGHTS

Uncertain Trumpets

Leadership: If the foiled airline bomb plot sounded familiar, it should. In 1995, al-Qaida planned the same thing as the Clinton administration slept. Democrats hope to press the snooze button again in November.

The 1995 plot was uncovered when Ramzi Yousef, subsequently convicted for the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, hastily fled a burning Manila apartment, leaving behind bomb materials and a laptop with disks containing plans for something called Project Bojinka – the Arabic word for "loud explosion."

The plot was to blow up 11 American jetliners over the Pacific Ocean, then crash a plane into CIA headquarters – a mission to be carried out by a Pakistani pilot who had trained at flight schools in North Carolina, Texas and New York. Sound familiar?

One would have thought that after al-Qaida had tried to blow up the WTC in 1993 and was discovered to be plotting to blow up airliners and fly them into buildings, the Clinton administration would have connected the dots and taken action. But it didn't.

THE UNDERMINING OF AMERICA: FIFTH IN A SERIES

A disgusted Philippine Gen. Avelino Razon was so shocked at 9-11 that he called a hasty press conference in Manila. "We told the Americans about the plans to turn planes into flying bombs as far back as 1995," he complained. "Why didn't they pay attention?"

We saw the fruits of Democratic foreign policy on Oct. 3-4, 1993, when the armed forces of the world's only superpower engaged in battle with the forces of Somali warlord Mohamed Farrah Adid in the streets of Somalia's capital, Mogadishu.

Carter: Present at the creation.

After a 15-hour battle, 18 Americans were killed and 80 wounded. One dead U.S. soldier was dragged through the streets in an act designed to humiliate the U.S. in the jihadist world. There was no military response to the humiliation. Osama bin Laden was watching.

On June 25, 1996, terrorists struck Khobar Towers, a U.S. military barracks in Saudi Arabia, killing 19 soldiers. In 1998, the year of Monica Lewinsky, al-Qaida operatives blew up the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing 245 and injuring 5,000. On Oct. 12, 2000, the warship USS Cole was bombed while refueling in Yemen, killing 17 sailors and wounding 39. All were acts of war, yet the response to each was to do nothing.

This is the party of Sen. Harry Reid, who once boasted after a filibuster: "We killed the Patriot Act." It is the party of Sen. Russ Feingold, who said on the Senate floor: "Let me make one final point about sneak-and-peek warrants. Don't be fooled for a minute into believing that this power is needed. It's not."

It is a party that has appeased terrorists and dictators for decades, which has opposed every terror-fighting tool, including the tracking of terrorist money through foreign banks, and whose entire strategy in the war on terror is: "Bush sucks."

It is the party of DNC Chairman Howard Dean, who said after the New York Times revealed a wartime secret to the enemy, the NSA surveillance program: "We don't need a big brother." But ironically, such surveillance played a key role in foiling the latest plot.

Democrats who whined after 9-11 about what President Bush knew and when he knew it forget about the 1995 plot. They also forget it was Jamie Gorelick, deputy attorney general in the Clinton Justice Department, who erected the

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One, and often two, cartoons a day from Pulitzer Prize winner Michael Ramirez, IBD's Editorial Cartoonist and a Senior Editor.

The Week That Was In World War III

Global War On Terrorism: The epicenter may be Israel, but this isn't Israel's war. Islamist violence and menace are going full blast around the world, showing radical Islam's sustained aim at civilization itself.

Many Islamofascist activities get lost in the welter of 24/7 news. But when viewed together in one place, the threats, intercepted attacks, real attacks, diplomatic maneuvers or inaction all confirm radical Islam's unity of intent.

Here, in no particular order and excluding the war in Lebanon, is a sampling from the densely packed events of last week:

Somalia: The transitional government sought troops from Ethiopia to deter Islamist militia encircling the provisional capital, Baidoa. Ethiopia sent hundreds of armored carriers 100 miles into Somalia. In Mogadishu, Islamists in a machine-gun-mounted pickup "arrested" 20 men watching an allegedly pornographic video.

Iran: A U.S. official told Congress that Iranians may have paid for and observed North Korea's seven long-range and medium-range missile test launches directed at the U.S. on July 4 and 5.

U.S.: The Homeland Security Department is investigating a pipe bomb found in Lake Pontchartrain, La. Officials fear it could be part of a practice run for a future attack that could shut down all commerce on a critical U.S. waterway.

Meanwhile, two students in Georgia with terror contacts in Canada were indicted for allegedly plotting jihad after preparing for it through paramilitary training in north Georgia.

Separately, customs officials said religious visas were being abused by radical clerics from Syria, Algeria, Pakistan and Egypt.

In addition, experts said an analysis of the suicide plot that was revealed on July 7 to blow up the PATH trai
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Romania:
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Afghanistan: Taliban fighters ambushed Canadian troops near Kandahar after the Taliban announced a new campaign of violence against allied troops and anyone cooperating with them. Taliban also set a high school on fire in Paktika province, gutting it.

Syria: Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad met with Hezbollah leaders in Damascus, prompting fears of more coordinated terrorist attacks.

United Kingdom: Two more Islamist organizations – Al-Ghurabaa and the Saved Sect – were banned as terrorist. They split off from the group founded by terror cleric Omar Bakri Mohammed, now in Lebanon. Meanwhile, militants on paltalk.com called for the destruction of Israel and all Jews worldwide.

India: Three men affiliated with terrorist group Lashkar-e-Tayyaba were apprehended in a string of bombings on Bombay's transit system July 11 that killed 208 and injured 800. India's army reported new al-Qaida terror camps on the Pakistani border specializing in unconventional training, such as the use of female recruits.

Thailand: Six people were killed by Islamist militants in drive-by motorcycle shootings around Pattani. Victims included an assistant village chief. Police reported growing numbers of terror suspects with ties so strong to Indonesian terror group Barisan Revolusi Nasional, they suspect BRN and Thailand's own RKK terrorists may now be the same organization.

Venezuela: President Hugo Chavez, an Iran ally, moved to build diplomatic support for his bid for a United Nations Security Council seat, claiming he won pledges of votes from the Arab League and some African states. Chavez condemned Israel's self-defense efforts and explicitly vowed to thwart the U.S. if he won the U.N. seat.

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ber Think This Way?

And This Guy Was Almost President?

Politics: Sen. John Kerry has spent a career taking the side of America's enemies. His call last week for a pull-out from Iraq was the latest evidence he is unfit to serve in the Senate never mind the White House.

Kerry's proposal to withdraw us completely from Iraq by July of next year was resoundingly defeated in the Senate by a vote of 86 to 13. And just days before, he said the deadline should be the end of this year.

But Kerry's idea is the exact opposite of what he was calling for in late 2003 while running for president. Back then he was accusing President Bush of planning to prematurely withdraw from Iraq.

"I fear that in the run-up to the 2004 election the administration is considering what is tantamount to a cut-and-run strategy," Kerry told the Council on Foreign Relations. He said it would be "a disaster and a disgraceful betrayal of principle" to allow "a politically expedient withdrawal of American troops."

That's one of but many Kerry flip-flops, but he's been consistent over the years in siding against the U.S. in war. Things really got started for Kerry at Valley Forge, Pa., of all places, where he provided an encore to a Jane Fonda speech at an anti-war rally in 1970.

"Hanoi Jane" is remembered for traveling to North Vietnam to give backing and encouragement to its communist regime as it killed tens of thousands of American forces.

In a 2004 interview, Fonda said of Kerry, "I remember thinking, 'Wow, this is a real leader, a Lincolnesque kind of leader.'"

Fonda reportedly gave tens of thousands of dollars of proceeds from her anti-war speeches to Kerry's Vietnam Veterans Against the War organization so it could investigate purported atrocities by U.S. military personnel.

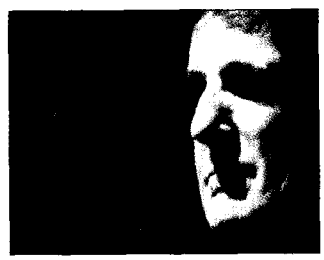
On "Meet the Press" in 1971, Kerry called "the men who ordered us" — namely the White House under Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon — "war criminals."

Bui Tin, the North Vietnam army colonel who accepted South Vietnam's surrender in 1975 and later left for exile as a dissident against the communist Hanoi government, called the anti-war movement Kerry and Fonda helped lead in the U.S. in the early 1970s "essential to our strategy."

Indeed, Kerry's photo was placed on display in Vietnam's "War Remnants Museum" (originally named "War Crimes Museum" when it was opened in 1975).

According to The Boston Globe's 2004 "complete biography" of Kerry, in the 1984 campaign that first landed him in the Senate – during the height of the Cold War against the Soviet Union – "Kerry supported cancellation of a host of weapons systems that have become the basis of U.S. military might – the high-tech munitions and delivery systems on display to the world as they leveled the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein in a matter of weeks in 2003."

They include the B-1 and B-2 Stealth bombers, the Apache helicopter, the Patriot missile, and the F-15, F-14A and



Kerry: Once again, on the wrong side.

F-14D jets. He also repeatedly voted against missile defense — more than 50 times, by our count.

During President Reagan's second term, Kerry urged Congress to trust "the good faith of the Sandinistas" and cut funding to Nicaragua's Contra freedom fighters. And he used the Senate's investigative powers to make sure no back-door funding was going to the Contras.

So when Kerry isn't flip-flopping for the sake of politics, he's serving the purposes of our adversaries from Vietnam to the War on Terror. Whether it's poor judgment, or something more sinister that animates John Kerry, it's remarkable that someone so dangerous could have come so close to occupying the Oval Office.

ACLU Vs. U.S.A.

Legal Tyranny: Always taking the side of America's enemies, the radical lawyers of the ACLU have their tentacles everywhere. If Americans let them, they'll destroy our moral fabric and make us vulnerable to terrorists.

The most indefensible acts of the American Civil Liberties Union are widely known – like its defending the North American Man-Boy Love Association against a $200 million civil lawsuit or its yearning for male homosexual scoutmasters.

Its more outlandish positions are infamous – like contending that the distribution of child porn, once produced, is protected by the Constitution, while metal detectors that catch terrorists are unconstitutional. But too few Americans realize how far and wide this dangerous organization's misdeeds reach.

Most notoriously, a left-leaning federal judge in Detroit who serves on the board of a foundation that gave $45,000 to the state chapter of the ACLU gave the group its way last month and ruled against the National Security Agency's program tracking suspected terrorist communications, an opinion sure to be overruled.

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Here's an incomplete list of other recent ACLU activity:

- Dozens of states have passed or are considering laws to prevent the disruption of military funerals by radical groups. But the ACLU, typically, has taken a stand against the U.S. military and its families. The group considers such laws a violation of the First Amendment's freedom of speech and is fighting them in Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio and elsewhere. (Yet the ACLU hypocritically acquiesced as the anti-racketeering RICO statute has been used to restrict protests outside abortion clinics.)
- On top of the Detroit suit, the ACLU is suing over the NSA's terrorist surveillance program in New York, Oregon and San Francisco.
- The National Football League is trying to protect fans from terrorist attacks, but the ACLU is trying to stop NFL-mandated searches at football games. A federal judge in Tampa, Fla., ruled in the ACLU's favor against searches at Buccaneers games.
- The U.S. government has been holding up the citizenship request of Mustafa Aziz, an Afghan Muslim living in California who served in the U.S. Air Force, holds a flying license and wants to be a commercial pilot. To most Americans such a delay is perfectly reasonable considering what took place five years ago this week. But the ACLU has joined with the Council on American-Islamic Relations in a lawsuit accusing the government of illegal foot-dragging.
- The group this summer called on the California Legislature to set up an "inspector general" post to investigate the state's National Guard, Terrorism Threat Assessment Center and Office of Homeland Security in its monitoring of suspected terrorist activities.
- The ACLU sued the state of Florida after

Taking The Wind Out Of Windfall

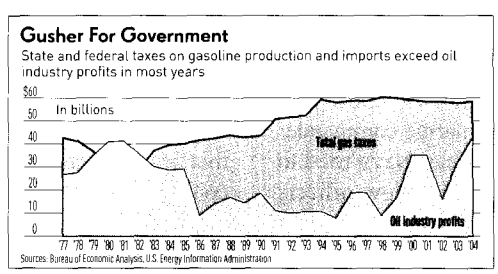
Tax Policy: Wouldn't you know it: Those greedy oil companies are now conspiring to lower gasoline prices at the pump. And worse yet, they're using their profits to find more oil. Someone should investigate this!

In case you missed our predictions here several months ago, or our editorials in recent weeks noting (immodestly) how those predictions have come true, energy prices are dropping faster than the jaws of Democratic critics of Big Oil. Crude contracts have fallen below $64 a barrel, and gasoline has skidded nearly 16% in a week and a half.

"The only place they have to go is down," says Fred Rozell, gasoline analyst at the Oil Price Information Service. "We'll be closer to $2 than $3 come Thanksgiving."

Not so thankful will be the likes of Chuck Schumer. New York's senior senator recently opined that the "fact that Big Oil is pulling in record-breaking profits while most Americans are breaking the bank to fill up their gas tanks is both despicable and mind-boggling."

Schumer, along with colleague and presidential wannabe Hillary Clinton and others, is calling for a return of the tax on "windfall profits." But he ignores the fact that, according to a new report from the Tax Foundation, the biggest profiteers from oil aren't the companies that produce it and deliver it to


Gusher For Government
State and federal taxes on gasoline production and imports exceed oil industry profits in most years
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Total gas taxes
Oil industry profits
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Sources: Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Energy Information Administration

And what does Big Oil do with those profits? The American Petroleum Institute estimates that in 2006 U.S. oil companies will spend $66 billion on exploration and production. Complex operations like the Jack 2 well in the recently discovered Jack Field some 270 miles southwest of New Orleans cost $100 million. One well.

The Jack Field, estimated to contain as much as 15 billion barrels of oil, required new technology to drill, under 7,000 feet of water, a well 28,175 feet deep – a total of nearly seven miles under the surface of the Gulf of Mexico. Jack 2 is the equivalent of 25 Empire State Buildings stacked one upon the

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The idea that a leader who thinks he is up against a wall might contemplate personal and national suicide is not without historical precedent. Castro told Khrushchev to use nuclear weapons against the U.S. if it attacked Cuba, even though he knew this would mean the destruction of his island.

And Castro is an atheist. What happens when you are confronting instead a group of men who think their sovereignty comes from God; who overestimate their strengths and your weaknesses because they count on divine assistance; who quote their founder, Ayatollah Khomeini, as having said that "a nation that seeks martyrdom is unfettered"; who think that Islam and the West are, to borrow Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's words, locked in "an historical war . . . [that] has been going on for hundreds of years"; and who believe that Muslim honor requires the destruction of Israel and the humiliation of America? Will they be as predictable as Khrushchev was? Is it wise to gamble millions of lives on the answer?

Even if it were, we would still have no guarantee against doomsday scenarios that could arise *without* the regime's intending them. Also testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Ashton B. Carter, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project at Harvard, described several ways in which Iranian nukes could find their way to terrorists—and none of the possibilities requires Ayatollah Khamenei to sign on the dotted line. Carter mentioned "a black-market sale by a corrupt scientist like an Iranian version of A. Q. Khan, seizure by extremist factions of a future Iranian government, or loss of control in a new Iranian revolution," all "eminently plausible and fearsome dangers." A fourth possibility is that a renegade commander in the Revolutionary Guards—which control Iran's most advanced weaponry and count as members many of Iran's most venomous ideologues—could use or transfer a nuclear weapon without authorization. We know that, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, a Soviet submarine commander almost fired a nuclear torpedo when the American Navy tried to force him to the surface with depth charges. His fellow officers talked him out of it—but how persuasive would they have been if he had believed that no less an authority than God wanted him to push the button?

A WORLD OF TROUBLE

Though none of the doomsday scenarios is likely, all have consequences so disastrous that even a low risk of them would be intolerable. Yet they are only part of the threat. Largely overlooked, and much harder to deter, is the conventional aggression Iran would commit under the cover of its nuclear shield. The mere possession of nuclear warheads—even the mere *possibility* of possession—is a potent strategic weapon. A state without nukes must watch where it treads: Make your neighbor mad enough and he declares war. Make him think you have a nuclear arsenal, and he gets rather more forbearing.

From an American perspective, Iran is already responsible for much of what is wrong with the Middle East. It continues to destabilize Iraq; it funds and supports Hamas and Hezbollah, using the latter as a direct instrument of its foreign policy; and it is a natural ally and protector to Middle East tyrants who would rather confront the United States than come to terms with it, such as Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad. Iran's goal is wholly to deracinate American influence from the region, and it has already shown itself willing to use violence toward this end (as witness its sponsorship of the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia). Dealing with Iran right now is tough enough; if it goes nuclear, things will get harder by an order of magnitude.

We could expect, first, that a nuclear Iran would authorize its client terrorists to act much more brazenly. This would have terrible implications for both Iraq and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, of course, but we should not assume that the bloodshed would be confined to the Middle East. In 2004, the London-based Arabic daily *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* quoted a Revolutionary Guards intelligence theorist who bragged, "We have a strategy drawn up for the destruction of Anglo-Saxon civilization and for the uprooting of the Americans and the English"; and again, "There are 29 sensitive sites in the U.S. and in the West. We have already spied on these sites and we know how we are going to attack them."

Dealing with Iran right now is tough enough; if it goes nuclear, things will get harder by an order of magnitude.

A nuclear Iran would also grow more bellicose toward other states in the region. Iran is fiercely nationalistic; it looks down on its non-Persian neighbors; and its rulers see themselves as the Middle East's naturally dominant power. (This is why those who argue that Washington could persuade Iran to renounce its atomic ambitions by offering it a security guarantee are wrong. Iran will seek nuclear weapons to advance its hegemonic aims regardless of its relations with the U.S.; indeed, its aims necessarily *prevent* it from having good relations with the U.S.) The Middle East states that have the most to lose from an ascendant Iran include, not coincidentally, some of America's most dependable allies in the region: Egypt, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and—to the extent our efforts there succeed—Iraq. What happened to the Iranian city of Piranshahr in July 1999 offers a portent of things to come. Piranshahr had become a base for terrorists of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which Iran was sponsoring—so Turkey "accidentally" bombed it. Iran backed down, with the result that the PKK could no longer operate effectively inside Turkey. But would Turkey have stood up to an Iran with nuclear warheads atop its missiles? Don't bet on it.

Iran's acquisition of nuclear weapons would deliver a terminal blow to the hope of regime change. Naturally we would not risk toppling a nuclear power ourselves; more important, the regime would feel emboldened to take whatever oppressive measures it wished against Iran's internal democratic opposition, confident that we would not come to the democrats' aid.

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Finally, consider how the balance of interests conduces to Iranian aggression. In any contest of deterrence, much depends on the credibility of one's threats. And this credibility in turn depends on the interests at stake. A state is much more likely to act on its threats when something of vital importance to it hangs in the balance. Its adversary knows this, and makes its calculations accordingly.

So what do we know about Iran? That its religious zealotry causes it to exaggerate the significance of issues that are, objectively speaking, only tangentially related to its interests. The Israeli–Palestinian conflict, for instance, has no direct bearing on Iran's security, but much of the regime sees it as fundamental to Iranian interests and even to Iran's identity as a Muslim nation. And what does Iran know about us? That our people are grown weary of foreign entanglements, and that our political class increasingly questions the value of President Bush's project to liberalize the Muslim world.

In almost any conceivable Middle East struggle, Iran will feel it has more at stake than we do. That will cause it to push hard—and to assume we lack the backbone to push back. (Our failure to stop Iran from going nuclear will itself be taken as proof of our weakness.) All of this will be true even if, as Jonathan Rauch argues, Iran is "more vulnerable to long-term pressure than the USSR was." If indeed the regime thinks it is at a long-term disadvantage to the U.S., it has all the more reason to strike out as soon as it has gone nuclear. Its objective will be to secure its regional dominance before the U.S. and its allies have had time to develop a containment strategy, and before other Middle East powers have built their own nuclear arsenals in response to the Iranian menace.

UNWELCOME RESPONSES

And build nuclear arsenals they will. Any doubt about this should have been dispelled a few weeks ago when Egypt suddenly discovered an interest in nuclear power. That it spoke the language of civilian technologies should not obscure the underlying message: It will respond to Iran's proliferation in kind. Saudi Arabia and Turkey can be expected to do likewise.

The primary danger here is not that these states will use their weapons. It is, rather, the horrifying potential of a Middle East arms race to facilitate nuclear terrorism—a threat altogether different from what we faced in the Cold War. As a matter of simple mathematics, a greater number of atomic bombs in the Middle East makes it more likely that some terrorist somewhere will someday get one of them. This isn't the whole story, though: Just as important is the effect of nuclear proliferation on American deterrence.

What stops rogue states (and renegade factions within generally responsible ones) from transferring weapons of mass destruction to the likes of al-Qaeda is the certainty that America would respond by sending them not so gentle into that good night. This is also one of the very few things that might deter a terrorist from using a nuke: He will think twice before risking the destruction of an entire Muslim state. But, as Stephen Peter Rosen argues in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the more Middle Eastern nuclear states there are, the harder it will be to determine the origin of a detonated bomb. Moreover, the nuclear weapons of both Pakistan and North Korea are based on a Chinese design—as would be Iran's, assuming it succeeded in building them. This similarity would only compound our difficulties in knowing whom to blame for a nuclear terrorist attack.

What, then, is America to do if something goes boom? Retaliate massively against any state that *might* have given away, or lost control of, a nuclear weapon? Our moral scruples forbid this: and the rogues, renegades, and terrorists know it. Araby is a nasty place. So too is the wider Muslim world of which it is part. There is no shortage of people who would be happy to put a mushroom cloud over Washington or Tel Aviv. Once they think they can do so anonymously, they will have very little reason not to. And with that we are back to doomsday.

Whether the United States can forfend this menu of catastrophes is a question to which there may be no comforting answer. By all means, let's debate it. But let's not be lulled into complacency under the influence of blithe assurances that living with a nuclear terrorist state is no big deal. **NR**

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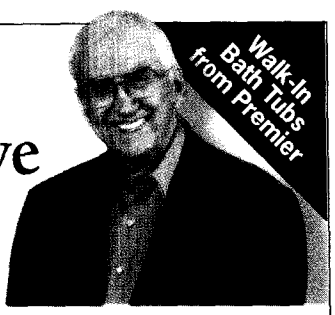

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■ COVER STORY II

Can Their Program Be Destroyed?

The military options against the mullahs

MARIO LOYOLA

At Natanz, about 130 miles from Tehran, the Iranian regime is constructing a vast "commercial scale" uranium-enrichment facility that will house as many as 55,000 centrifuges. Deep under several meters of steel-reinforced concrete, conveniently out of reach of the most powerful known conventional bunker-busters, the facility will be able to produce sizeable quantities of lightly enriched uranium (LEU) in a matter of months once it is operational. The steps required to enrich LEU all the way to highly enriched, weapons-grade uranium are few and have been described by experts as purely mechanical.

Some have argued that operational launch of these main "enrichment cascades" at Natanz, which could occur next year, should in and of itself be considered a red line by U.S. officials—i.e., a line Iran must not be permitted to cross. But Iran is generally cooperating with inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency: If it continues to do so, and if the plant's operations remain transparent, the Bush administration is likely to conclude that it can hold its breath for a little while to see how things develop. It will be a nail-biting period of months; intelligence assessments will be studied nervously; allies will be consulted weekly; and the most minor IAEA inspections will be followed minutely.

Iran will be on notice—but the prize within the mullahs' reach may be just too tantalizing. In a 2004 article in *Asia Times*, Kaveh Afrasiabi, a Tehran University political-science professor who is close to former high-ranking officials in the regime, put Tehran's thinking starkly:

> There is an emerging "proto-nuclear deterrence" according to which Iran's mastery of the nuclear fuel cycle would make it "nuclear weapon capable" in a relatively short time, as a sort of pre-weapon "threshold capability" that must be taken into account by Iran's enemies contemplating attacks on its nuclear installations. Such attacks would be met by stiff resistance, born of Iran's historic sense of nationalism and patriotism, as well as by a counter-weaponization based on quick conversion of the nuclear technology. Hence, the longer the U.S., and Israel, keep up the military threat, the more powerful and appealing the Iranian yearning for a "proto-nuclear deterrence" will grow.

This window into the regime's thinking suggests what might happen next. If for some reason—say, a sudden increase in Mideast tensions—Iran stops cooperating with the IAEA, we will suddenly find ourselves at a point of no return. We will no longer be able to know what Iran is doing with its nuclear capabilities. The crisis will finally arrive for decision in the Oval Office, just as it did—albeit in much simpler form—for the Clinton administration, in the North Korean nuclear crisis of 1994.

Mr. Loyola, a former consultant to the Department of Defense, is a visiting fellow at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies.

A NOT-SO-DISTANT MIRROR

From January 1993 onward, the Clinton administration was keeping a close watch on North Korea's nuclear reactor at Yongbyon. The North Koreans were pursuing the plutonium route to nuclear weapons—creating a system that, once established, can produce many more nuclear weapons than the uranium method the Iranians are now using. But the plutonium route is also much easier to disrupt, because weapons-grade plutonium can be extracted only from the spent fuel of a nuclear reactor; the system is vulnerable at that point in the production chain.

Suddenly, on May 4, 1994, North Korea began to remove plutonium-laden spent fuel rods from the Yongbyon reactor. A few weeks later, IAEA director-general Hans Blix reported that the agency's ability to measure spent fuel at the facility would be lost within days if the discharge were not stopped. Then, on June 13, days before former President Jimmy Carter's visit to Pyongyang, North Korea announced its intention to withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and threatened to expel IAEA inspectors from the Yongbyon facility. Two days later, Brent Scowcroft and Arnold Kanter wrote in the *Washington Post*:

> As things now stand, if Pyongyang implemented such a maneuver, we might never know whether it had gone ahead and reprocessed enough plutonium for another four to six nuclear weapons. . . . We should tell North Korea that it either must permit continuous, unfettered IAEA monitoring to confirm that no further reprocessing is taking place, or we will remove its capacity to reprocess. . . . The approach we have outlined is designed to prevent a bad problem from becoming worse. . . . More generally, we should ensure that both our actions and our words make clear to Pyongyang that we will not be intimidated by its threats and will not be paralyzed by the possibility of war.

In the 2003 book *Going Critical*, three of the Clinton-administration officials closest to the crisis recall the deliberations. "Logically," they write, "there were three military possibilities for attacking Yongbyon": destroy just the reprocessing facility; destroy the entire facility, including the reactor; or destroy the entire facility and "remove key North Korean military assets, in order to degrade Pyongyang's ability to retaliate." Cowed by North Korea's threat to unleash war against the South—an almost-obvious bluff—Clinton placed the fate of the nonproliferation regime in the hands of "unofficial" envoy Jimmy Carter, who promptly reached a deal with Pyongyang and then announced it on CNN—without telling the administration first. The administration was forced to cave on the most important U.S. demands: inspections at any time and any place, and the dismantling of the plutonium program.

The lessons of the North Korea crisis are clear. The reason Clinton considered bombing North Korea's nuclear facility at Yongbyon when it began removing spent fuel rods from the reactor pool was that this represented the last moment at which the nature and scope of North Korea's nuclear activities could be

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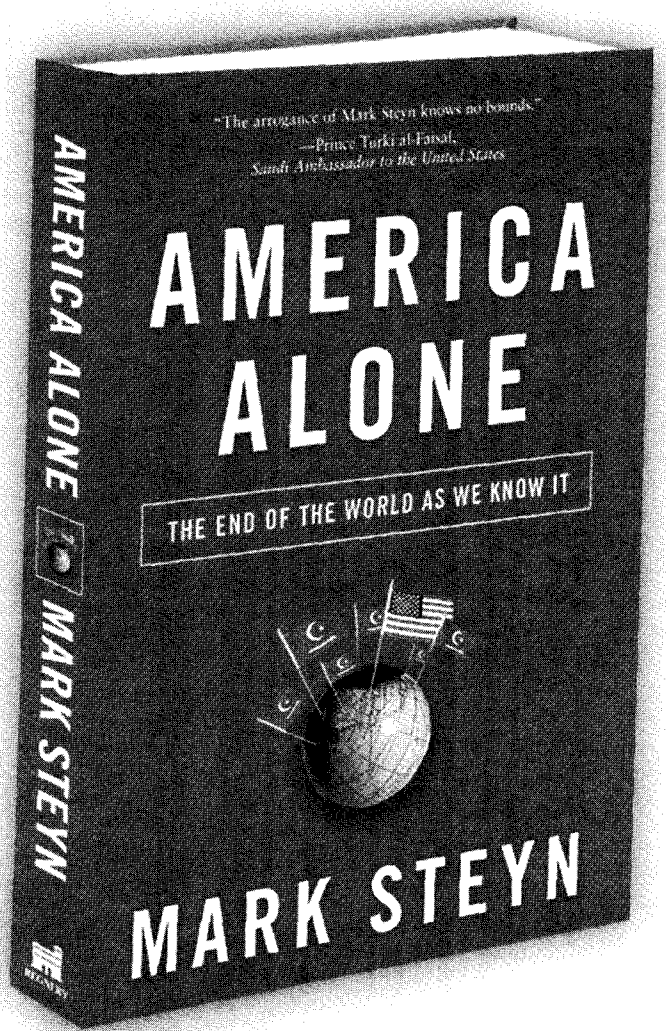
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America is hated for every reason.

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known with any certainty. They were still years away from being able to manufacture a warhead, and yet the U.S. treated Pyongyang's threat to eliminate nuclear transparency as an act of war—which, strategically speaking, is exactly what it was.

DON'T LOSE THE WINDOW

An Iranian decision to stop cooperating with the IAEA will trigger a similar crisis in the U.S. national-security establishment. The options are likely to be presented from "lightest" to "heaviest," according to a progression calibrated to anticipate Tehran's likely reaction to any military strike. The "lightest" option could consist of limited strikes on the handful of facilities directly related to uranium enrichment. The most important of these are buried deep underground at Natanz. Experts believe we could not be confident of completely destroying the facilities if we relied only on conventional air strikes, even if we resorted to repeated strikes on the same targets in the hope of creating craters within craters deep enough to reach the facilities.

Unfortunately, the alternatives to conventional air strikes are few, and they tend to the outlandish. Nuclear bunker-busters are certainly out of the question, if indeed they exist at all. Other possibilities are helicopter-borne missions using special-operations forces, and a "thunder run": a swift, heavily armed ground incursion by large-unit forces operating out of Iraq or Afghanistan.

But given the degree of skepticism attaching to the likely success of "light strikes" in setting back Iran's nuclear program, the Joint Chiefs are likely to recommend that any strikes seek to destroy Iran's nuclear program "cradle-to-grave": from uranium mining, to conversion facilities, to enrichment facilities, to hard-water plants, to the various reactors now under construction. A crucial element in these strikes would be Iran's nuclear know-how. This would mean that, for the first time in history, the offices and laboratories of university faculty may become military targets. Such a "strike package" might set Iran's nuclear program back ten years, although many experts are more pessimistic.

Because Iran's nuclear facilities are so dispersed and, in many cases, well defended, estimates of the number of possible targets for this option range from 300 to 1,500. Given these numbers, the mission could not be accomplished exclusively with stealth aircraft. Hundreds of relatively slow-moving non-stealth aircraft would be involved—so the initial phases of the operation would have to wipe out Iran's national air defenses. That in turn would mean an operation lasting many days or even weeks.

When the smoke settles, Tehran will not delay in retaliating somehow. It is likely to perceive that its room for maneuver is somewhat constrained, because while everyone knows that the U.S. is reluctant to invade Iran, an Iranian retaliation could be so serious as to force the U.S. into an all-out war. And yet there are many possible acts of retaliation Iran could commit before triggering an all-out U.S. invasion. Iran possesses a significant arsenal of long- and medium-range missiles, and could use them against countries that facilitate any U.S. action—or against Israel, as Iran has already threatened.

Iran's most fearsome counter-deterrent to the destruction of its nuclear facilities is the implied threat to ruin America's project in Iraq. But here, the U.S. has a deep strategic advantage. The success of democracy in Iraq is rapidly becoming not America's fight, but rather that of Iraq's Shiite majority—the very group that Tehran seeks most avidly and actively to protect. One of Iraq's most important Shiite political parties—the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq—is a key player in the government, and it was created in Iran to fight Saddam. Thus, in order to ruin the U.S. effort in Iraq, Iran must first directly and vividly ruin the project of the very factions that are friendliest to it.

It is worth remembering, also, that a huge military force is parked on Iran's western and eastern borders. One might think that this force is largely tied down in Iraq now, but over the past year, it has slowly withdrawn from large-scale forward operations. In a sense, Iran's nuclear program may now be in a race against time, while America's assets and options multiply.

Furthermore, Iran's military is surprisingly weak. Its army has on the order of 300,000 troops, covering a country four times the size of Iraq. It would never be able to stop the advance of a single American mechanized or armored brigade on a "thunder run." The country is, tactically speaking, essentially wide open for military operations of many kinds. It was perhaps because of this that, reportedly, some of Iran's most senior generals recently wrote a letter to Ayatollah Ali Khamenei warning that Ahmadinejad was embarking on a dangerous course of action, and that Iran could not risk war with the U.S.

Beyond military retaliation, Iran might launch a worldwide terror campaign against America. The regime claims that the Revolutionary Guards have established a "Lovers of Martyrdom Garrison" of suicide bombers for this very purpose, with thousands of recruits. But, as some experts have pointed out, one thing the current War on Terror has not seen is the phenomenon of Shiite—much less Persian—suicide bombers. Thankfully, the suicide-bombing tactic is thus far almost exclusively the domain of Sunni Arabs. With a view to the looming confrontation, Iran is also preparing to shut down the Strait of Hormuz, through which passes 40 percent of the world's oil. But the Tehran regime derives 65 percent of its revenue from oil shipments, almost all of which must pass through the Strait of Hormuz—making this, too, an unattractive option.

THE FATAL CHOICES

Taking into account Tehran's options for retaliation after any initial strike, heavier strike packages would target known missile forces, the air force, the Revolutionary Guards and other military bases, command and control, and naval assets along the Persian Gulf. The U.S. may devise its plan "backwards," from the desired result to a specific military strategy. That's what the U.S. did in Kosovo: The air campaign designed by Gen. Wesley Clark struck first at the Milosevic regime's most essential command-and-control assets. After initial operations to degrade Serbia's air defense, NATO passed immediately to the core facilities of the Defense Ministry, paralyzing the regime's military capability from the inside out. And then NATO started to remove the regime's ability to function as a state, destroying key transportation infrastructure, energy resources, and communications facilities. It did all that, and even put a cruise missile in Milosevic's bedroom, before shifting its focus to the ultimate objective: the Serbian ground forces in Kosovo.

That's what Iran will likely face. The Iranian regime has to be made to understand that in the current state of Middle East confrontation, in which many Americans have already been killed

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because of Iranian-inspired acts of aggression, their *acquisition* of a nuclear breakout capability represents a grave threat to the U.S.—and a potentially fatal threat to Israel—and that the West is grimly aware of this. Iran's nuclear advance is a dramatic escalation in an already tense regional cold war. And that, for all strategic purposes, is an act of aggression.

International law has never devised an authoritative definition of aggression. But, strategically speaking, the definition is quite clear: Any act that directly threatens the security of other states is an act of aggression. As Kofi Annan said to the General Assembly some years ago, "It is not enough to denounce unilateralism unless we also face up squarely to the concerns that make some states feel uniquely vulnerable, since it is those concerns that drive them to take unilateral action."

Irredentist powers often seek to alter the status quo in order to advance important aims. They must then typically choose between a laborious process of negotiation aimed at leaving all parties satisfied, or achieving the alteration quickly and aggressively. China, for example, has shown an increased willingness to choose the path of negotiating in good faith, even if that means deferring strategic goals that may already be within its reach unilaterally; its bid to exploit mineral claims in the South China Sea comes immediately to mind.

Iran has at times suggested that it might be willing to do this, but in fact the West's negotiations with Iran have not slowed down the regime's multi-track nuclear advance. Iran's goal in the negotiations is to provide assurances to the Europeans, regardless of whether the U.S. also accepts them—in a bid to divide the international community. Iran, in short, is not negotiating in good faith.

To insist that Iran be transparently peaceful in its nuclear activities is to insist upon the protection of the greatest benefit of the nonproliferation regime: transparency. That is the first and most important line of defense in the age of WMD. Especially in the case of hostile terror-sponsors, nuclear nonproliferation is an indispensable element of our national security. If Iran eliminates the hope of maintaining transparent nonproliferation through diplomatic means, it will force upon the United States a choice between abandoning one of the most valuable ramparts of our security—or defending it by force.

Weighing the risks and benefits of a military confrontation with Iran against the risks and benefits of avoiding one will be excruciatingly difficult. The U.S. should push that decision squarely on Iran. Iran is now the power seeking to challenge the status quo—so logically the risk calculation is in the first instance Iran's to make. The object of U.S. policy must be to increase the risks of confrontation such that they become prohibitive to Iran. And the only way to accomplish that is to send a clear message to the Iranian regime that we will *not* allow it to compromise our national security and push the world farther down the slippery slope of uncontrolled nuclear proliferation. **NR**

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■ THE 20TH CENTURY

What the Hungarians Wrought

The meaning of October 1956

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

In October 1956, just fifty years ago, Hungarian freedom fighters rose against their Soviet colonizers and oppressors. Their forebears had done the same under Lajos Kossuth in 1848, and the Habsburg and Russian autocracies then combined to suppress them bloodily. The Soviets were even more brutal. Approximately 2,500 freedom fighters were killed in twelve days of fighting, as well as nearly 100 members of the secret police, known as the AVO, and several hundred Soviet soldiers. In the aftermath, about 300 prominent Hungarians were judicially executed, including Imre Nagy, the prime minister who was the revolution's figurehead. Some 850,000 police prosecutions were opened, as a result of which 22,000 people were imprisoned. A few others were deported to the Soviet Union, and 200,000 fled to the West, among them the cream of the intelligentsia, including scientists, well-known writers such as Pal Ignotus, Tibor Meray, and Gyorgy Paloczi-Horvath, and not least General Bela Kiraly, the revolution's chief of staff.

Stifled in blood and terror, the revolution appeared a failure, and Communism set firm to be another long Dark Age. As Orwell had predicted, the future was to be a jackboot stamping on the human face forever. To do their bidding, the Soviets installed Janos Kadar as Communist Party leader and prime minister, the very essence of a quisling, a dour character with a thorough understanding of the mechanics of repression. It was his express purpose to hang Imre Nagy and other former close colleagues as well. So he was able to rule unchallenged for thirty years; and yet things did not work out as intended. Resting on force and the secret police, Communism proved unable to satisfy basic material and spiritual needs, and gradually withered on the vine, not only in Kadar's Hungary but throughout the Soviet bloc.

The Soviet Union had the military resources to prolong its empire. As from 1985, however, the general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, believed that the decline of Communism could be remedied. Consent was to replace force as the instrument of government. Almost at once, such a complete repudiation of Communism caused the whole system to fall apart. A day came in 1989 when the Hungarian authorities simply opened the Iron Curtain; everybody and anybody could escape into the West; the Soviet bloc was no more. The revolution of 1956 had preserved the nation's sense of itself and kept alive everywhere the memory of freedom. Victory was posthumous, to be sure, but the human face nonetheless had survived the jackboot.

Nobody could have predicted this outcome. Sandor Marai, a deservedly popular writer, describes in his autobiography how he had taken refuge in the countryside to await the coming of the Red Army as it drove out the Germans late in 1944. Sure enough, he was in an orchard one misty morning when the first Soviet soldier appeared, but this man could bring no freedom, Marai immediately noted, because he had none for himself. Fleeing to the United States, Marai was only one among tens of thousands who escaped while they could. Stalin was then at the height of his power, and his policy towards the Eastern European countries the Red Army now occupied was to remodel them in the Soviet image. Consent did not enter into consideration.

In 1945 there were no more than a few hundred Communists in Hungary. Arriving from Moscow, their leaders, Matyas Rakosi and Erno Gero, had survived the Great Terror of the Thirties through craven obedience to Stalin. Rakosi was squat and bald, with virtually no neck, and his physical appearance seemed to correspond to the monstrous character within; Gero had been a commissar in the Spanish civil war with powers of life and death. They and their colleagues were prepared to commit every crime, including murder. Within a few short years, they rigged elections to seize power, eliminating other political parties by means of what Rakosi notoriously boasted were the "salami tactics" of intimidating some and corrupting others; collectivizing land; installing the AVO police state; and imprisoning the elite in concentration camps. Memoirs by Bela Szasz and the poet Gyorgy Faludy and others are classics of the prison literature of the twentieth century, recording the suffering and torture they had to endure in the AVO headquarters at 60 Andrassy Street in central Budapest, the Gyujto prison at Kobanya, the camps at Vac and Kistarcsa, and similar sites in the local gulag.

Stalin—still familiarly Uncle Joe—had a virtually free hand to consolidate Soviet conquests in Europe. Churchill protested about the descent of the Iron Curtain, and President Truman announced his doctrine in defense of democratic countries threatened with Communist takeover. In general, however, the average Westerner at that time held that the countries of Eastern Europe had had a bad war, pro-German, and they had to take what was coming to them. Bernard Shaw, as arrogant as he was infantile, could write in *The New Statesman* in October 1939 (of all moments) that after Hitler's blitzkrieg and partition with the Soviet Union at least we would not have to hear about Poland again. Another high-powered booby, Harold Nicolson, greeted the Soviet occupation of Hungary in *The Spectator* similarly, observing that Hungarians had done much harm and little good in Europe, and "now they will not again be able to disturb the peace."

In the winter of 1948, Stalin fell out with President Tito of Yugoslavia, who was pursuing a nationalistic and therefore heretical version of Communism. Show trials were arranged in the new Soviet satellites to bring supposed "Titoists" to heel, and since there were none, these had to be manufactured by the secret police. Rakosi settled on Laszlo Rajk and some associates, possible rivals for power within the Communist Party. These victims were alternately beaten and tortured, or persuaded to confess on the grounds that the Party demanded this last service of them,

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. Among his many books is *The Hungarian Revolution*, published in 1969.

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exactly as Arthur Koestler had imagined in his famous novel, *Darkness at Noon*. Rajk and others duly confessed to a farrago of nonsense, and were hanged. Covering this grisly farce, an unidentified special correspondent for the London *Times* judged the victims guilty as charged. This phenomenon of fellow traveling remains inexplicable.

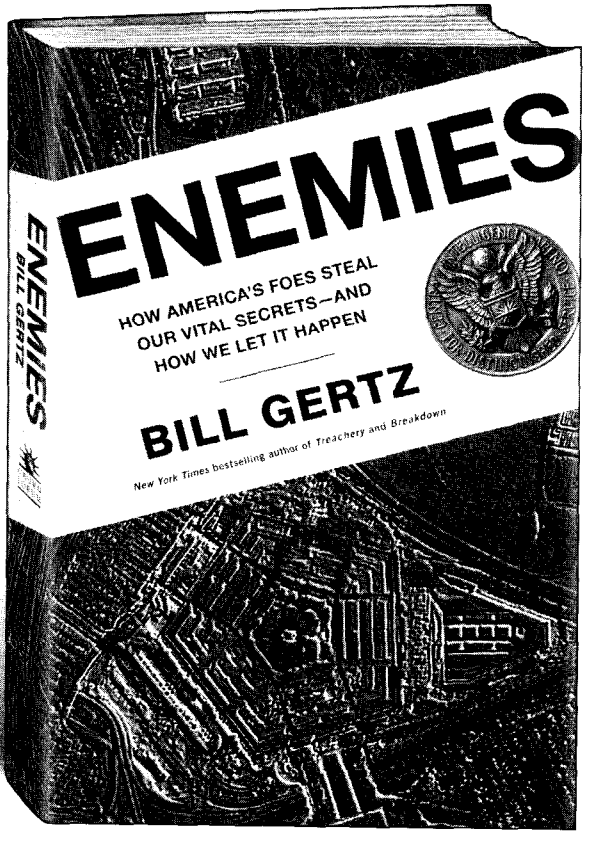
INNOCENT TIMES

At this point, I must declare an interest. In the days of the old Austro-Hungarian empire, a forebear of mine, a successful industrialist, used to buy property in Hungary on the grounds that "land never flies away," as he believed in that innocent pre-Nazi and pre-Soviet period. The Hungary of his day was "a false but enchanting country," as Pal Ignotus described it, wittily adding, "The national genius allowed even decent people to live quite merrily." To the Communists, we were petit bourgeois, if not landowners and capitalists, possibly even feudal.

By the time I was able to visit them, the properties had long been expropriated. Kapuvar, a house in the nineteenth-century gothic style, had been converted into a depot for Soviet tanks. The stud at Lesvar was abandoned, in ruins. A Soviet major had insisted on riding one of its prize-winning racehorses, but when this thoroughbred threw him he drew his revolver and shot it. I was shown 1930 photographs of harvesting at Pusztaszabolcs, and there was my fourteen-year-old mother and her younger sister with scores of other girls in the cornfield with an early model of a threshing machine. A favorite with the whole family was one Istvan Nagy. Taken prisoner on the Eastern front in 1943, and sent to Siberia, he had lost his toes from frostbite and never really recovered, dying soon after his release. His widow also cherished photographs. On one derelict building was the tablet recording that my forebear had built the local school and installed the telephone. With tears in their eyes, Mrs. Nagy and other villagers used to plead not to be forgotten. Communism could not last, they said, the old days must return.

Cold War politicians, diplomats, and Radio Free Europe in Munich liked to call for the "rollback" of Communism. Was that feasible? A preliminary step was the withdrawal of the Soviets in 1955 from their zone in Austria, and the neutrality of that country. Then in February 1956, Nikita Khrushchev, Stalin's successor as general secretary, used the opportunity of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Party in Moscow to denounce at least some of Stalin's crimes. The speech was too explosive to remain secret. Here was an admission from the top that Communism was not a matter of consent, only of force. All those who had done Stalin's bidding were now officially implicated as accessories in crime.

In the case of Hungary, outright Stalinists like Rakosi and Gero were wholly compromised. Prisoners by the thousands had to be released from the camps and prisons. The judicially murdered Laszlo Rajk was declared innocent, and on October 6, 1956, he was reburied in the Budapest cemetery reserved for national heroes.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An immense and somber crowd attended. Rajk's widow, Julia, spoke, and his young son was present. On the following morning, the leading Communist newspaper commented on its front page, "It is not only mourning that silences the people before these coffins, but also passionate hatred."

Disgrace and crime were out in the open. The promotion of Imre Nagy to be prime minister at this point might well have headed off revolution, but the Kremlin continued to prevaricate for several days before finally appointing him. An agricultural expert by profession, Nagy had spent years in Moscow proving himself a reliable Communist, and was almost certainly a secret-police informer. By nature cautious and legalistic, not an ideologue, he was the very man to back away slowly from Stalinism. His besetting sin was credulity, and it did him in. Khrushchev himself liked to maintain that if he had ordered the shooting of ten Hungarian writers at the right moment there would have been no revolution—a remark revealing how Stalinist his own mentality remained.

Down with the dictatorship

Instead, the intellectual elite organized large meetings, and on October 23 students marched in a demonstration that by the end of the day brought 250,000 people onto the streets. They set fire to bookshops selling Marxist publications, and to the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society. In one of the city squares a bronze statue of Stalin stood on a marble plinth, altogether some thirty feet high. Using ropes and cutting equipment, the crowd destroyed this statue, leaving only its empty boots—a symbolic precedent for dictators, as Saddam Hussein was to discover. People next tried to storm the radio station; shots were exchanged; demonstrators and secret policemen were killed. Military units under Bela Kiraly and his deputy Colonel Pal Maleter went over to the demonstrators, and so did police units under Sandor Kopacsi. An uprising in the heroic style of the nineteenth century with flags and barricades—another 1848—had suddenly materialized.

The Soviet response was a characteristic mixture of hypocrisy, deception, and violence. Two members of the Politburo flew in to Budapest—Anastas Mikoyan, who preferred a political solution, and the very different Mikhail Suslov, skilled at devising ideological justification for murder. They relied on senior KGB officers and the Soviet ambassador to Budapest, Yuri Andropov, another Stalinist hardliner with a future career as head of the KGB and general secretary of the Party. Among them, there was never any confidence in Nagy, and they secretly arranged to replace him with Kadar. Preparing to attack in strength, they pretended to be seeking peaceful compromise. Unable to read the situation clearly, Nagy was driven to measures that went against his grain, resigning from the Party, declaring neutrality on the lines of the Austrian precedent, and appealing to the United Nations. The Soviets summoned Colonel Maleter and others to a meeting in one of their barracks to discuss Soviet withdrawal, but this was a trap. Arrested, Maleter was hanged. His last recorded words were, "Long live independent and socialist Hungary." Nagy was similarly duped. Having sought and obtained refuge in the Yugoslav embassy, he was promised a laissez-passer, but was then hijacked from the vehicle driving him away. He too was hanged. Khrushchev had Nagy executed, according to Fedor Burlatsky, a Kremlin insider, "as a lesson to all other leaders in socialist countries."

'THE HEART OF AMERICA GOES OUT . . .'

I was in Budapest not long after the Soviet repression, and saw houses and even streets shattered by the shelling of the tanks, on the scale of outright war. Suspicion and fear haunted the city. President Eisenhower and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, might have made an issue of it, but these events had taken them by surprise. Besides, they were otherwise engrossed in the imminent presidential election. Spencer Barnes, the chargé d'affaires in the American legation in Budapest, urged the administration to build on the "tremendous revulsion against Soviet domination," and to consider giving material aid to the freedom fighters. All that Eisenhower could find it in him to say on hearing the first news of shooting in Budapest was, "The heart of America goes out to the people of Hungary." Raising the specter of nuclear war, he made it unmistakably clear that the Soviet Union was free to deal with the revolution as it saw fit. Rollback therefore subsided into containment, a stand-still policy that stayed in place until President Reagan was elected. Robert Murphy, undersecretary of state and a veteran participant in great events, summarized Washington's failure: "Perhaps history will demonstrate that the free world could have intervened to give the Hungarians the liberty they sought, but none of us in the State Department had the skill or the imagination to devise a way."

Worse still, Eisenhower and Dulles were mesmerized by the attack on Egypt that Britain, France, and Israel were launching at that very same moment, and which has gone down in history as the Suez campaign. The coincidence led to the false equivalence that imperialism was in play in both cases, to be condemned equally, although one was pro-Soviet and the other anti-Soviet. Gamal Abdul Nasser, the Egyptian one-man ruler, had taken delivery of arms from the Soviet bloc, and was in the process of consolidating his version of the standard Third World country, anti-American and Sovietized. It would have been greatly in the American interest for Nasser to be overthrown, as the three Western allies intended. But the campaign had been planned in secret, without the knowledge of Washington. Astonished and then annoyed by the conduct of their allies, Eisenhower and Dulles made sure to abort the Suez campaign. Within months they realized that they had merely played into Soviet hands. The mistake was by then irreparable on two fronts. The Soviet client in Hungary had received a free ride, and the Middle East was condemned to be one of the bloodiest arenas of the Cold War, with consequences that to this day grow only more menacing.

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You deserve a factual look at . . .

Myths About the Israeli-Arab Conflict (II)

Is there such a thing as the "cycle of violence"?

In a recent one of our *hasbarah* (educating and clarifying) messages, we described how untruths and misinformation advanced by the Arabs have made many people, even well-intentioned ones, believe this propaganda. In that installment, we addressed the myth of "occupation" and its being the alleged cause of the conflict between Arabs and Israelis. Today, we look at another myth – repeated over and over again – that of the "cycle of violence."

What are the facts?

The myth of the "cycle of violence." Our government, the media and many people refer to and deplore the acts of violence raging between Israelis and Arabs. They believe that if that "cycle" could somehow be broken, peace and good will would prevail. But there is no such "cycle." The Israelis, always exercising much restraint, are often forced to respond to such violence in order to protect their civilian population and their installations and infrastructure. Ask yourself how many Palestinian civilians have intentionally been killed by the Israelis? The answer is zero, nobody! And then ask yourself, how many Israeli civilians have been intentionally targeted and killed by the Arabs during that same period. The answer is: all of them! Any Palestinian civilian killed by Israel is an unintended victim. The Palestinians, on the other hand, target only Israeli civilians – shoppers in stores, teenagers in discotheques, celebrants at a bar mitzvah, a wedding, or a Passover Seder, or innocents riding in buses or other public transportation. The restraint of the Israelis in the face of never-ending provocation is almost unbelievable. What other country in the world would continue to suffer such sustained damage, such loss of life, without making every effort to eliminate its source? The sense of ethics that inspires the Israeli government and the Jewish people and, to be sure, also the pressure of public opinion, prevents Israel from unleashing its military potential and obliterating its tormentors once and for all. In the worst enemy attack on our country, the outrage of September 11, 2001, 3,000 Americans died. Our country, justifiably, went into full attack mode. Regrettably, our enemies are elusive, and we cannot bring our military might to bear on them. We certainly would do so and do so mercilessly if we could. The over 1,000 civilian Israeli dead so far as a result of the current Palestinian "intifada," correspond to about 65,000 American victims. Does anybody think that we would stand idly by if that were to happen to us? Of course not! What degree of forbearance does the world expect of Israel?

> "Had [the Palestinians] accepted the hand of friendship and peace that Israel has extended so many times... the concept of the 'cycle of violence' would have never arisen."

Evacuation of Gaza in vain. Bowing to bad advice and the pressure of public opinion, Israel evacuated Gaza – not a single Israeli soldier or civilian remains there. But instead of the expected peace, violence erupted almost immediately. Israel was and continues to be subject to almost daily rocket attacks. In a most serious incident, the Gazans dug a tunnel into Israel, attacked an Israeli patrol, killed two Israeli soldiers and kidnapped one. An even more serious incident occurred on Israel's northern border. In order to promote peace, Israel abandoned the southern Lebanon security strip, which it had maintained as a buffer against Hizbollah (the "party of God"). In a daring raid, Hizbollah invaded Israel, killed eight soldiers and kidnapped two. A violent war erupted as a result, during which Hizbollah launched thousands of sophisticated Iran-supplied rockets against Israel. It brought about enormous destruction and hundreds of dead in both Lebanon and Israel.

There is no "cycle of violence." There is only the very measured response of the Israeli military to defend its civilian population and its vital installations against unending attacks by the Arabs. They are prepared to sacrifice their lives and that of their children and are willing to go to any lengths to achieve their goal of destroying Israel.

The Arab-Israel conflict has raged for almost 100 years. Israel has had to defend itself against attacks since the very day of its birth – and before. It has sustained casualties that, in proportion to its population, are far higher than that of any country in modern times, even those engaged in open warfare. The hatred of the Arabs against the Jews is bottomless. They will stop at nothing to inflict damage or, if possible, obliterate and "wipe Israel off the map." The Palestinians live in abject misery, their economy is in shambles, and their youths, having not learned much more than the Koran, violence, and "martyrdom," face a hopeless future. Had they accepted the offered partition of the country in 1948, or had they accepted the hand of friendship and peace that Israel has extended so many times since, they could now have had their own state, perhaps for as long as the Israelis – since 1948. They could have an advanced, peaceful and prosperous society, just as that of Israel, in partnership with and next to it. The concept of the "cycle of violence" would have never arisen.

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Kadar and the Communist Party were in a quandary when they had to explain why they shot, hanged, and imprisoned so many of the Party members, workers, and peasants who according to doctrine were owners of the Communist state. For the purpose, they turned truth on its head: The revolution had actually been a counterrevolution, inspired and promoted by the CIA, Radio Free Europe, a clutch of former fascists and landowners, and for good measure the Catholic Church. Every one of these accusations was not just false but without any semblance of reality. The charge against the Church was particularly vicious. Its chief representative, Cardinal Mindszenty, had been first in solitary confinement in prison, and later under house arrest, since the day after Christmas 1948, victim of a show trial for espionage and currency speculation. Released just hours before the final Soviet counterattack, he had time only to make one rather awkward speech, and then place himself under the protection of the American legation, where he was to remain for years, a symbol of victimization.

A book called *1956: Counter-Revolution in Hungary—Words and Weapons*, published in 1969, was the standard work in defense of the Soviet-imposed regime. Today its mendacity has lost the power to hurt but bears witness to those times. Imre Nagy's views, as reduced in this book's jargon, "were essentially identical with the programme suggested and transmitted by the organs of international imperialism." The heading of a final chapter proclaims, "Shoulder to Shoulder with the Working Masses for Socialist Consolidation." Its author, Janos Berecz, had studied in Moscow, became a member of Hungary's Central Committee in 1980, and eventually ideological secretary, with responsibility for propaganda. His voice would have been influential in the event that the Hungarian Party had decided not to open the Iron Curtain in 1989 but instead to shoot people as in 1956. When I interviewed him in 1993 in his pretty house in the Buda hills, he said that he had given up his "one-sided approach" and conceded that the 1956 revolution had been lawful. A businessman, he—and indeed the rest of the Party—eagerly volunteered for the petit-bourgeois ranks they had once persecuted. Signs of penance may be detected. The secret-police headquarters on Andrassy Street is now an anti-Communist museum, and in its underground cells are photographs of former prisoners there, some of whom I am proud to have known.

Reflecting long after the event, Peter Kende, a prominent Hungarian journalist, considered that 1956 had been "the Waterloo of leftist thought." Hannah Arendt, an archetypal intellectual of the Left, thought that this revolution "illuminated the immense landscape of post-war totalitarianism." In shock at Soviet reality, the British Communist Party shriveled. In Italy, even as faithful a Stalinist as Palmiro Togliatti expressed doubt and dismay. Jean-Paul Sartre, probably the world's foremost Soviet apologist, wrote that the Soviets had won nothing and lost everything, merely "kindling hatred in people's hearts." In the Soviet Union itself, the courageous Andrei Amalrik spoke for fellow dissidents when he stated that "1956 was a turning-point in the history of the Communist bloc." So it was. Large numbers of people had proved ready to sacrifice themselves in order to be free.

With wonderful irony, after exactly half a century crowds are again demonstrating in Budapest, this time against what they say is bad, even dishonest, government. They will not be shot for withholding their consent and demanding another government. The hopes of 1956 have come true. **NR**

■ **THE WORLD**

Births 'n' Dearths

Deadly demography, in Shakespearean terms

MARK STEYN

My old—very old—friend George Abbott, the director of *On the Town*, *Damn Yankees*, and *Pal Joey*, died in 1995 at the age of 107 while working on a revival of *The Pajama Game*. Several years earlier, in his late nineties, he'd given up playing tennis because all his partners had died. That's the position America is facing in respect of its transnational social life: It'll be turning up at the G-8, NATO, and other summits only to find that all its partners have died.

The single most important fact about the early 21st century is the rapid aging of almost every developed nation other than the United States: Canada, Europe, and Japan are getting old fast, older than any functioning society has ever been and faster than any has ever aged. A society ages when its birth rate falls and it finds itself with fewer children and more grandparents. For a stable population, you need a Total Fertility Rate of 2.1 live births per woman. That's what America has: 2.1, give or take. Canada has 1.48, an all-time low and a more revealing difference between the Great Satan and the Great White North than any of the stuff (socialized health care, fewer handguns, more U.N. peacekeepers, etc.) that Canucks usually brag about. Europe as a whole has 1.38, Japan 1.32, Russia 1.14. These countries—or, more precisely, these people—are going out of business.

There's nothing wrong with old folks: Speaking for myself, if I'm at some soirée, I'd much rather Doris Day provided the evening's musical entertainment than the latest caterwauling gangsta rapper; I'd rather date Debbie Reynolds than Angelina Jolie. But even to put it in those terms is to become aware of how our assumptions about a society's health—about its innovative and creative energies—are based on its youthfulness. Picture the difference between a small northern mill town where the mill's closed down and the young people have moved away and a growing community in the Sun Belt. Which has the bigger range of stores and restaurants, more work opportunities, better school choice? Which problem would you rather have—managing growth or managing decline?

So what happens when the whole nation—and in Europe the entire continent—has a profile closer to the decrepit mill town than the Sun Belt suburb? There is no precedent in human history for economic growth on declining human capital—and that's before anyone invented unsustainable welfare systems.

Mr. Steyn is a columnist for NR and writes for several other publications as well. His latest book is *America Alone: The End of the World As We Know It* (Regnery), from which this essay is adapted.

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True, birth rates are falling all over the world, and it may be that eventually every couple on the planet decides to opt for the Western yuppie model of one designer baby at the age of 39. But demographics is a game of last man standing. The groups that succumb to demographic apathy last will have a huge advantage—and those societies with expensive social programs dependent on mass immigration will be in the worst predicament. It's no consolation for the European Union with its deathbed birth statistics if the Third World's demographics are also falling: They're your nursery, they're the babies you couldn't be bothered having; if their fertility rate goes the same way yours has, that will be a problem for you long before it's a problem for them. Unless it corrects course within the next five to ten years, Europe by the end of this century will be a continent after the neutron bomb: The grand buildings will still be standing but the people who built them will be gone.

GOING GENTLE

More immediately, Europe will be semi-Islamic in its politico-cultural character within a generation. In the 14th century, the Black Death wiped out a third of the Continent's population; in the 21st, a larger proportion will disappear—in effect, by choice.

Demography doesn't explain everything, but it accounts for a good 90 percent—including the easy stuff, like why Jacques Chirac wasn't amenable to Colin Powell's schmoozing on Iraq: If the population of your cities were 30 percent Muslim and with spectacularly high youth unemployment rates and a bunch of other grievances, would you be so eager to send your troops into an Arab country fighting alongside the Great Satan?

The state of our civilization manifests itself both in the non-problems that terrify us beyond all reason—rising sea levels—and in the real problems we pay no heed to. This year, Spain's ruling Socialist party introduced a bill in parliament legislating that apes be included in "the category of persons, and that they be given the moral and legal protection that currently is enjoyed only by human beings." The party's argument was that human Spaniards do, after all, share 98.4 percent of their genes with chimpanzees, 97.7 percent with gorillas, and 96.4 percent with orangutans. Unfortunately, the 2 percent Spaniards don't share apparently includes the urge to reproduce. For the new Europe, instead of Gibbon's *Decline And Fall*, maybe someone should write *Gibbons' Rise And Triumph*. But why stop there? Why not give sheep the right to an abortion? Or allow gerbils to contract gay marriage? With a cockatoo? Why does the king of Spain not simply declare that, henceforth, by royal proclamation, pigs shall fly?

By 2050, Italy's population will have fallen by 22 percent, Bulgaria's by 36 percent, Estonia's by 52 percent—or more. Seventeen European nations are now at what demographers call "lowest-low" fertility—1.3 births per woman, the point at which you're so far down the death spiral you can't pull out. As for America, demographic trends suggest that the blue states ought to apply for honorary membership in the EU.

In the 2004 election, John Kerry and John Edwards made a big hoo-ha about "outsourcing"—i.e., American companies setting up a customer call center in Ireland or India. Outrageous! Yet most of the West has outsourced its entire future to the Third World: Just as America relies on the Chinese to make cheap Elmos and Poohs, so Canada relies on them to make cheap human beings—the children that domestic manufacturers in Canada, Europe, and elsewhere have concluded are prohibitively expensive to produce at home. In its reliance on immigration to ensure its future, the European Union has adopted a 21st-century variation on the strategy of the Shakers, who were forbidden to reproduce and thus could increase their numbers only by conversion.

If a society chooses to outsource its breeding, who your suppliers are is not unimportant. "I've heard those very silly remarks made about immigrants to this country since I was a child," said Lyn Allison of the Australian Democrats after a political opponent warned that the country could be swamped by Muslims. "If it wasn't the Greeks, it was the Italians . . . or it was the Vietnamese." But those are races or nationalities. Islam is a reli-

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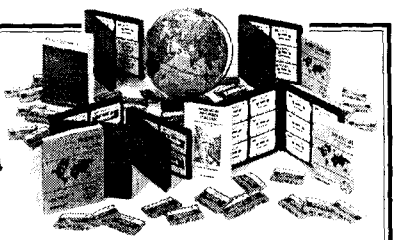

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gion, and an explicitly political one—unlike the birthplace of your grandfather, it's not something you leave behind in the old country. Indeed, for many of its adherents in the West, it becomes their principal expression—a pan-Islamic identity that transcends borders. "You can't find any equivalent in Italian or Greek or Lebanese or Chinese or Baltic immigration to Australia. There is no equivalent of raving on about jihad," said the Aussie prime minister, John Howard, stating the obvious in a way most political leaders can't quite bring themselves to do. "There is really not much point in pretending it doesn't exist."

Islam is now the principal supplier of new Europeans, and currently the second biggest supplier of new Canadians. So it's worth mulling over the question John Howard suggests: What proportion of Western Muslims is hot for jihad? Five percent? Ten, 12, 20 percent? The years roll by since 9/11, and for the most part we're none the wiser. Nonetheless, except for the willfully blind, the distinctions between Ms. Allison's "Greeks and Italians and Vietnamese" and Muslim immigration are clear. In defiance of normal immigration patterns, the host country winds up assimilating to Islam: French municipal swimming baths introduce gender-segregated bathing sessions; Australian hospitals remove pork from the cafeteria menu.

AN ASSIST FROM SHAKESPEARE

So if a population "at odds with the modern world" (in Philip Longman's phrase) is the fastest-breeding group on the planet, how safe a bet is the survival of the "modern world"? A good way to look at what's happening is via Shakespeare's "Seven Ages of Man":

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players,
They have their exits and their entrances . . .

And right now some of us are a lot closer to the exits and some of us are still pouring through the entrances. Look at the Bard's various "ages":

. . . Then a soldier.
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth. . . .

They're the foot-soldiers of the jihad, the excitable young men you see on the news jumping up and down in the streets of Gaza and Islamabad torching the Stars & Stripes and shouting "Death to the Great Satan!"—and also (and more important) the ones who take flight training so they can plow jets into skyscrapers, who take whitewater-rafting breaks in Wales so they'll be at the peak of fitness when they self-detonate on the London Tube, who define courage as the ability to look a seven-year-old Beslan schoolgirl in the eye and kill her. Over the next generation, that population of excitable young men will explode—demographically I mean, though very literally if the more severe mullahs have their way. By 2050, Muslim fertility rates will be in decline, as they already are in some of the more developed Islamic countries. But they'll be beginning their decline much later than Europe's, or Canada's, or Vermont's, and so they will have a huge demographic advantage. And given that that's the sole advantage they'll have—the Middle East's only other resource, oil, will be a fast-evaporating pool by mid-century—this is Islam's demographic moment and they have to make the most of it. If they're serious about the new caliphate and making the whole world part of the Dar al-Islam, they have to pull it off in the next quarter-century.

What of America? The hyperpower, demographically, is in Shakespeare's middle age:

In fair round belly with good capon lined . . .
Full of wise saws and modern instances . . .

—or, more accurately, divided between the two: blue-staters taking refuge in too many "modern instances," but with sufficient red-staters who still live by the "wise saws." The U.S. has demographic challenges of its own, but even if one accepts the dubious proposition that its population's ability to maintain "replacement rate" fertility is largely dependent on Hispanic immigration, its native birth rate is still the highest in the developed world. So the United States' relatively healthy demographic profile is merely the latest example of American exceptionalism.

What of Europe?

. . . The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slippered pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
His youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,
Turning again towards the childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound . . .

That's the situation the Continent's in. In constructing the European Union, they've built a world too wide for their shrunk shank. Worse, it's constructed in a particular fashion: Since 1945, "the big manly voices" of the perpetually warring Germans and French and Italians have been turned toward "the childish treble"—to socialized health care and welfare and paid vacations that enable modern European man to live his entire life in the childish treble. Unfortunately, such a society is hideously expensive to maintain, so Europe's aging population requires ever more and ever younger immigrants to prop up the system.

How does Shakespeare conclude?

. . . Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.

That's Russia today: "the sick man of Europe," with falling life expectancy, riddled with HIV and tuberculosis and heart disease, its infrastructure crumbling, its borders unenforceable, and its wily kleptocracy draining its wealth westward—a nation all but "sans everything."

How does Shakespeare begin?

. . . At first the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms . . .

Go to any children's store in Amsterdam or Marseille or Vienna or Stockholm. Look at the women in headscarves or full abaya. That's the future. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

From the Congressional IM Database:

EXCERPT 1

[SenatorTed joined the session at 01:40]
SenatorTed: hey wazzup? You awake? LOL…
[REDACTED]: jes sittin here chillin….u?
SenatorTed: kewl kewl…yah jes chillin. R u hangin in the page room?
[REDACTED]: yah
SenatorTed: can you bring me some ice?
[REDACTED]: yah sure
SenatorTed: can you bring me some ice NOW?
[REDACTED]: yah sure on its way Senator.
SenatorTed: Awesome! :)
[REDACTED]: Anything else, sir?
SenatorTed: You guys mind makin' a Quizno's run?
[REDACTED]: No problem, sir.
SenatorTed: Kewl. Large Italian. And can you bring me some rum?
[REDACTED]: Sorry, Senator, we're all underage.
SenatorTed: Okay then how about Scotch?
[REDACTED]: Sir, we
SenatorTed: Or Jager
[REDACTED]: really can't
SenatorTed: Or Grey Goose.
[REDACTED]: do that anymore
SenatorTed: Or something.
[REDACTED]: remember?
SenatorTed: brb
[SenatorTed left the session at 01:43]

EXCERPT 2

[RepJefferson joined the session at 01:51]
RepJefferson: Hiya
[REDACTED]: hi
RepJefferson: what up 2 nite?
[REDACTED]: nothing
RepJefferson: Jes chillaxin?
[REDACTED]: ya u?
RepJefferson: Ya me 2…sittin at home hangin
[REDACTED]: kewl
RepJefferson: Wonderin if u can do me a favor
[REDACTED]: Sure, Congressman
RepJefferson: I need some1 2 go 2 my office and look in the small office refrigerator I have there….
RepJefferson: …and look in the top freezer part of the shelf and pull out a ziplock bag…
RepJefferson: …and open the bag and take out $10,000. K?
[REDACTED]: Oh, um. It's pretty late, sir.
RepJefferson: Do I have to do this myself????
[REDACTED]: No, no, sir. I can do this. My key card gets me into the building. It's just that…um….I was wondering
RepJefferson: Don't wonder
[REDACTED]: what ur doing with all that $$$$$$$ in ur
RepJefferson: I said don't wonder
[REDACTED]: office?
[REDACTED]: sorry
[REDACTED]: sorry
RepJefferson: No worries :)
RepJefferson: LOL
[REDACTED]: Just 10?
RepJefferson: Just 10. Leave the rest there. K?
[REDACTED]: Bring it where?
RepJefferson: Ramada Inn Central. Take a taxi. I'll reimburse.
[REDACTED]: See ya in a bit.
[RepJefferson left the session at 01:58]

EXCERPT 3

[SenatorHillary joined the session at 02:56]
SenatorHillary: that u?
[REDACTED]: hey babe
SenatorHillary: what r u doing up so late?
[REDACTED]: not late in LA babe
SenatorHillary: terrific. LA. This is just what I need Bill
[REDACTED]: c'mon hill
SenatorHillary: r u in LA for any special reason?
[REDACTED]: hill
SenatorHillary: xcept to make more trouble
[REDACTED]: jes hangin and chillaxin
SenatorHillary: nice work with chris wallace
[REDACTED]: Thanx
[REDACTED]: LOL
SenatorHillary: I wuz being sarcastic….i thot u blew it
[REDACTED]: well ur the only one
SenatorHillary: no not true lots of people here think it was a silly egocentric display…
[REDACTED]: c'mon
SenatorHillary: that set my plans back
[REDACTED]: please GMAB!
SenatorHillary: and reminded people how much they r tired of u
[REDACTED]: u know I think ur just jealous cuz I still have fans in the far left
SenatorHillary: no im jealous that u get to do whatevr u want whenevr u want and i have to pretend i don't want 2 kill u
[REDACTED]: imho it was hi time some1 let the right have it
SenatorHillary: u looked crazy and defensive and
[REDACTED]: and tell them they cant distort
SenatorHillary: easily fact checked blather
[REDACTED]: my record when they r the ones who
SenatorHillary: that the reps had a field day with
[REDACTED]: k, k.
SenatorHillary: this is not ez
[REDACTED]: u wanna talk about changing arrangement?
SenatorHillary: NO NO NO NO NO
[REDACTED]: k then. let me do my thang.
SenatorHillary: just try harder k?
[REDACTED]: gotta go Lindsey lohan just arrived
SenatorHillary: Bill?
SenatorHillary: Bill?
SenatorHillary: Bill?
[SenatorHillary left the session at 03:04]

EXCERPT 4

[SenatorTed joined the session at 03:10]
SenatorTed: Hello?
SenatorTed: Sorry dude dropped off
SenatorTed: Hello?
SenatorTed: You guys still awake??
SenatorTed: Hello?
SenatorTed: Man I just crashed on my keyboard got letters all pushed into my face LOL
SenatorTed: You guys bringing the ice and the Quiz?
SenatorTed: Hello?
[SenatorTed left the session at 03:11]

EXCERPT 5

[[REDACTED] joined the session at 03:23]
[REDACTED]: hey hey u make my knees knock
SenatorHillary: Bill?
[REDACTED]: oh
SenatorHillary: u clicked the wrong name on ur buddy list
[REDACTED]: sorry
SenatorHillary: leave me alone bill
[REDACTED]: i said my bad k? I meant to click on lonelyteengirlz1997.
SenatorHillary: gnite bill
[[REDACTED] left the session at 03:24]

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HELP!!!!

Not Helpful

Like the kiss of death, McGovern
Piles on with the bug-out crowd,
Landing (oompf) atop both Murtha
And John Kerry—who got loud.
George, a Flying Fortress fly-boy
Over Germany, God bless,
Tends to show up in my Tarots
As intestinal distress.

—W. H. von Dreele

STATE UNIVERSITY

"I'm tired of teaching English, so for the rest of the semester I'll just spout political nonsense."

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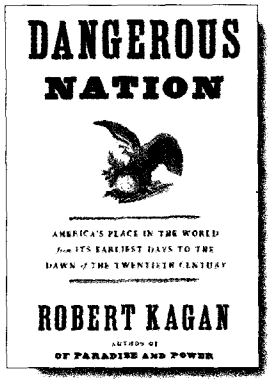
Who Were We?



Dangerous Nation: America's Place in the World from Its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century, by Robert Kagan (Knopf, 544 pp., $30)

The American Way of Strategy: U.S. Foreign Policy and the American Way of Life, by Michael Lind (Oxford, 304 pp., $24)

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

PRESIDENT Bush and his neoconservative advisers, along with his compliant top brass, are pilloried as hegemonists and imperialists, spending vast amounts of blood and treasure in a vain effort to ram our brand of democracy down the collective throat of the Muslim Middle East. That now-familiar harangue comes from both leftists and paleoconservatives, who evoke everything in the past—from a naïve Woodrow Wilson to the self-righteous architects of Vietnam—to underscore the folly of the current ill-advised intervention in Iraq.

To the extent that such critics of the president try to refine their history, some claim that America heretofore was never a colonialist power and that its newfound imperialism betrays our founding principles; others, usually on the left, argue that it is at long last time to cease with high-talking Manifest Destiny, whose democratizing gospel for over a century more often cloaked slaughter and annexation, from beyond the Mississippi to the Philippines and Southeast Asia.

But is any of this true? Neoconservatives would counter that the backlash against the Bush Doctrine is grounded in amoral realism, at best; at worst, it is based on a dangerous parochialism of the Pat Buchanan type (of both Left and Right) that abhors any foreign effort that will supposedly perpetuate "empire" and empower "big government." For the neocons, the proper historical referents are not misplaced American idealism at the Treaty of Versailles or in Saigon, but rather the bitter fruits of appeasement and isolationism of the 1930s, when inaction ensured that a regional menace like Adolf Hitler would grow to become a global carnivore. In addition, some proponents of an interventionist U.S. policy argue that such activism is—and always has been—the natural task of a uniquely powerful nation, one that has the *power* to do what it *should* do.

These fault lines are old, but they reappear predictably when either activism or withdrawal is perceived as dangerous and costly to the American people. And current public unhappiness over Iraq has rekindled old existential questions about American intervention abroad—both the practical wisdom of it, and a more soul-searching examination of who and what we Americans really are (and were). So it is not surprising to see two new and diametrically opposed views about the proper historical place of the foreign policy of the Bush administration: Does it represent continuity with, or a break from, America's past?

Michael Lind is very upset at the Bush administration. Like many of those increasingly angry since the 2003 invasion of Iraq, he advocates the return of realism as the proper American antidote abroad. The constant refrain of his strange book is framed unfortunately in the banality that there can be no security without power (as in past appeasement), while greater power in and of itself does not guarantee greater security (as in present imperialism).

The only novelty in Lind's pragmatism—ensure American interests by building coalitions with the real, rather than the hoped-for, world—is a slick parallelism: The neocons of the 1990s (advocates of the new "garrison state") were as foolish as the isolationists of the 1930s (who preferred the old "castle state"). Both, he thinks, were unilateralists. Both neglected the American military-industrial base. And both endangered American civil liberties—either by rendering us defenseless to foreign authoritarian regimes that would take away our freedoms, or, more recently, by making us authoritarian at home to ensure militarism abroad.

Lind's remedy ("the concert of power" and "the concert of trade") reads like the recipe for a sort of Pat Buchanan/Brent Scowcroft consommé, with a sprinkling of protectionism of U.S. manufacturing in a dangerously globalized world, and an internationalist policy of containing possible enemies solely on the basis of realist principles and alliances.

But Lind's often self-contradictory thesis bares little connection to the contemporary world of 2006, and his reading of history is often flawed. Dwight Eisenhower, as the current fad dictates, is approvingly quoted in his warnings about the military-industrial complex—as if a single farewell address summed up U.S. foreign policy between 1953 and 1961. But Lind fails to emphasize Ike's very serious consideration of using nuclear weapons in Korea in May 1953, and the liberals' rage over the globe-trotting, alliance-building John Foster Dulles, whose efforts they dismissed as unilateral provocation. (Lind, in fact, quite paradoxically fears that we have wrongly weakened the foundations of a much greater "arsenal of democracy" than a frowning Eisenhower had ever dreamed of.)

It is one thing to charge, as Lind does, that Guantanamo Bay—whose detainees

Mr. Hanson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, and the author most recently of *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War.*

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NR's New Classic Children's Book

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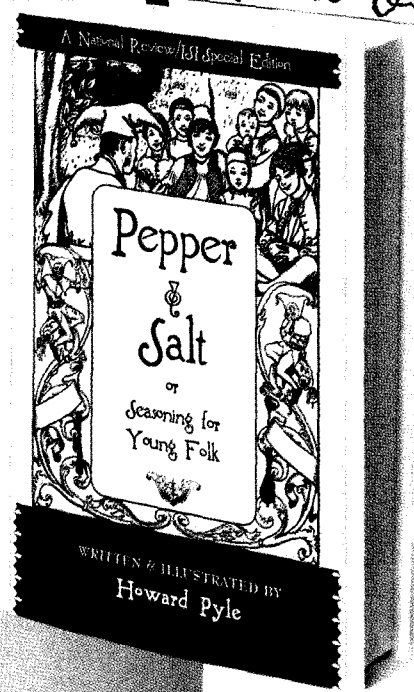

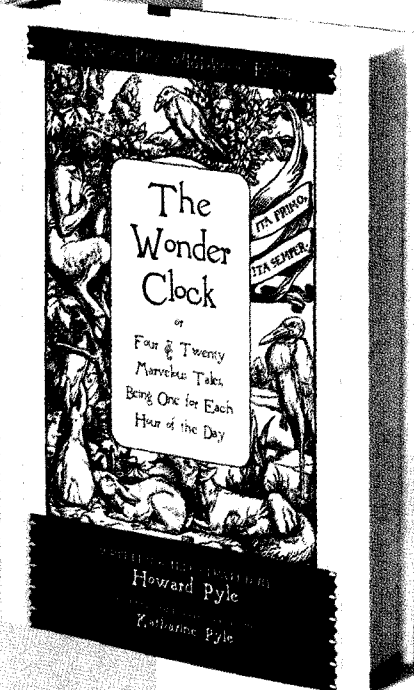

National Review and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute are proud to announce the publication of three wonderful new books—lavishly illustrated collections of wholesome and trustworthy tales that will delight anyone aged 8 to 80!—that are *musts* for every family's library, and wonderful gifts for deserving sons, daughters, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews.

Two of these precious books—*The Wonder Clock* and *Pepper & Salt*—are the work of the great Howard Pyle (1853–1911). Regarded as one of America's great illustrators and founder of the influential "Brandywine School," Pyle first gained renown for his self-illustrated serialized children's stories published in *St. Nicholas Magazine* and other major publications.

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Any child will find this book a good friend. "I put on my dream-cap one day and stepped into Wonderland," Pyle writes in the Preface to *The Wonder Clock*. It is the first of many exciting steps he takes in this collection, and your child or grandchild will find it a true joy to be Pyle's companion on this most delightful of literary journeys!

The Wonder Clock is part of a convenient boxed set, joined by another of Pyle's famous works, *Pepper & Salt*. From within the cove of this unique book come the delicious a powerful fragrances of an entire spice sh It is fair to say that this visually extravaga tome was not so much written by Howa Pyle, nor so much illustrated by him, as was designed by him. It is a work of art.

Pepper & Salt is so special and so distin that it will immediately capture the atte tion and the imagination of all, from ch dren to adults. Two dozen beautiful a enchanting full-page fable-poems—mischi vous, humorous, and instructive lesso adorned by Pyle's delightful line art a enhanced by his unique letterin embrace *Pepper & Salt*'s eight fin ly told and lavishly illustrat tales.

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The handsome boxed-set collection these two Pyle classics is $45.00. We've on produced 1,000 sets, so you are encourag to act promptly to order yours while our su ply lasts. As our "thank you" for taki advantage of this offer, we'll also send you free copy of *Wizard of Oz* author L. Fra Baum's beloved (and profusely illustrate tale, *Queen Zixi of Ix*. Shipping and handli is free, and *National Review* will be only t happy to accommodate you in sending the books as gifts (accompanied by an announc ment card with your personal greeting), all no extra charge.

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...are a Wholesome Must for Every Family!

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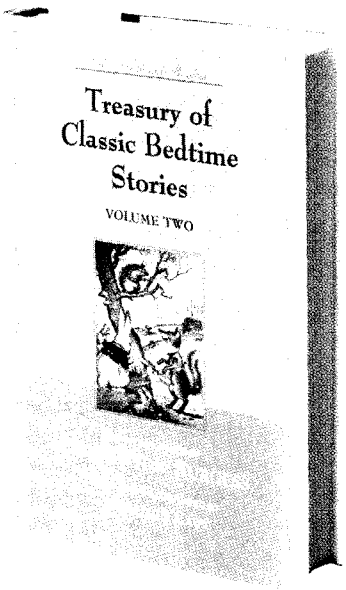

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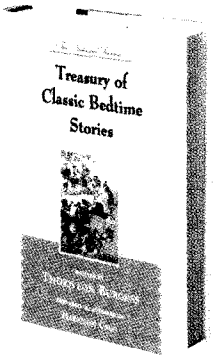

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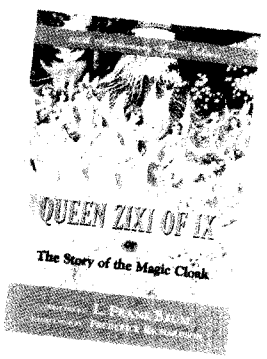

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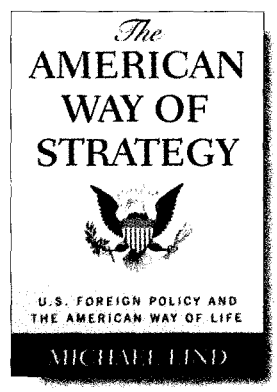
currently include Ramzi bin al-Shaiba, co-planner of 9/11—is a "concentration camp"; it is quite another to prove such a slander, especially of a facility whose non-uniformed and dangerous terrorists are provided with Middle Eastern food, Korans carefully handled by gloved guards, legal counsel to facilitate redress in federal courts, and frequent visits from the Red Cross. Lind often alleges, but never demonstrates, that the wiretapping of suspected terrorists, detention of jihadists in Cuba and Afghanistan, and the elements of the Patriot Act have eroded the Constitution. These measures are less severe than the suspension of habeas corpus, the closure of newspapers, the jailing of political opponents, or the internment of Japanese that occurred under the administrations of Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt—wartime governments that Lind often mentions approvingly.



Lind laments: "Unfortunately, instead of welcoming the emergence of a peaceful multi-polar world, America's bipartisan foreign policy elite in the 1990s and 2000s sought to convert America's temporary Cold War alliance hegemony into enduring American global hegemony, at considerable cost to the American way of life." Is he serious? The 1 million killed in Rwanda, the 200,000 slaughtered in the Balkans, the 150,000 butchered in the breakaway Soviet republics, and 25 years of Islamist terror attacks aimed at destroying Western commerce, travel, and security from Tehran to Manhattan were hardly proof of Lind's "emergence of a peaceful multi-polar world." And none of the most savage events in the Balkans, Rwanda, or the former Soviet Union had anything to do with America's converting of an "alliance hegemony into enduring American global hegemony," whatever that means.

If by the phrase "at considerable cost to the American way of life" Lind implies material impoverishment caused by our interventionism, he should at least note that the U.S. economy has grown nearly 25 percent since 9/11, with remarkably low levels of unemployment, inflation, and interest rates. If he means instead damage to "American democratic republicanism," he should recall the constant leaks, court challenges, Senate resolutions, and national debates that have accompanied almost every element of the president's executive efforts to ferret out international terrorists. For now, most Americans believe that the real danger to their democratic republicanism is a dirty bomb at the airport rather than an FBI gumshoe listening in on their cell-phone conversation with their spouse.

Lind assumes that a missionary "liberal utopianism" guided U.S. policy after 9/11. Yet supporting democratization was not really the first, but far closer to the last, resort in curbing radical Islamic terrorism of the type seen over the past quarter-century. And the change came only after frustration with the failed realism and appeasement of the past 30 years, in which America supported corrupt authoritarians, and then ignored these regimes' devil's bargains with terrorists, who were encouraged to deflect blame onto the U.S. and Israel for their own sponsoring authoritarians' self-inflicted failures.

As all "realists" do, Lind boxes himself into all sorts of moral dead-ends. He complains that we forsook realism in the 1930s to our detriment by not recognizing Stalin's Russia as a future counterweight to Hitler's Germany. Leave aside the moral considerations against using in peace a regime that had murdered 20 million of its own; even during the exigencies of subsequent global war, sober internationalists knew well that empowering the Soviet police state, through alliance and Lend-Lease, posed real future risks—as we soon learned, when an American-supplied Red Army rolled into Eastern Europe in GMC trucks.

Quoting Bill Kristol or Paul Wolfowitz about the glories of benign hegemony is not the same as demonstrating that that was America's actual record in the 1990s—when in fact it slashed military budgets, and sought multilateral solutions from Oslo to Dayton. Indeed, it's hard to accept Lind's allegations of a near-garrison state in pursuit of hegemony when the post-9/11 wartime American military is still eight combat divisions smaller than it was a decade ago, and the GDP spent on defense remains around 4 percent. Currently about one-fifth of budget dollars go to defense; during most of the Eisenhower administration, defense accounted for more than two-thirds of federal spending. To Lind, we have no allies in Iraq other than Britain; but by that reckoning the U.N.-sanctioned Korea intervention was also a unilateral enterprise, since the U.S. contingent then formed a greater percentage of total troops than it does in the present coalition of the willing.

Lind also charges that America "is selling citizenship to foreigners in exchange for military service." If such a blanket assertion were true on any wide scale, then the much-publicized supposed shortfall in recruitment would have easily been solved by some of the 12 million illegal aliens now residing inside the U.S.

One of Lind's targets is Robert Kagan, the well-known neoconservative who almost a decade ago was calling for the removal of Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic, and a return to a more muscular moral aggressiveness in U.S. foreign policy. He has now finished the first volume of a comprehensive two-part planned history of American foreign policy—and his analysis, conclusions, and scholarly rigor contrast with Lind's scattershot approach. While marshalling historical support for contemporary neoconservatism may well be the subtext of Kagan's book, past American policy, not current events, is the concern of this first volume. And Kagan's thesis is as compelling as it is sobering.

Kagan demonstrates that the notion of an inward, parochial American republic prior to World War II is largely a myth. From the very beginning, Americans have been ambitious, rambunctious, and eager to spread a radically democratic and "Anglo-Saxon" gospel of civilization—initially beyond the Thirteen Colonies into the inland valleys of the Midwest, later westward to the Pacific Coast, and finally across the Pacific beyond Hawaii to the Philippines. It is

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possible that only limited 19th-century American means, not the absence of grandiose ends, stopped annexation of Canada and more of Mexico.

In other words, the checks on innate American ambition were more material than ideological. Kagan reminds us that our "call to greatness" got us involved in what Max Boot has called our "small wars" from the Barbary Coast to the Caribbean, and against a host of larger countries as diverse as Great Britain, Mexico, and Spain. Once the United States, in the late 19th century, became truly united and powerful, it understood only too well that at last it *could* accomplish what it had always *wanted* to accomplish. Kagan is too shrewd to praise overtly these aggressive tendencies. But while demolishing Pat Buchanan's nostalgic portrait of an idealized parochial republic that never was, he nevertheless makes a number of often forgotten points that are worth remembering in our present crisis of confidence.

First, Americans themselves were historically unaware of the effect of their zeal upon others; they naïvely assumed that most of the world wished to be subjected to "peaceful conquest" by the American democratic experience. Thus many of our good intentions were sometimes nullified by our own naïveté, as Americans forgot that such nation-building had to be done in a manner that would allow others not to fear a "dangerous" United States—and also to gain the lion's share of the credit for their own progress.

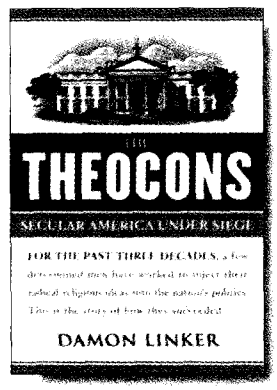
Second, while it is true that the American system, forged over three centuries, proved unworkable abroad and often ended up replacing colonial and monarchic rule with strongmen rather than democracies, often the U.S. left countries much better off than it found them. And we should not let the disappointment in obtaining perfection mask the good that Americans accomplished in Hawaii and the Philippines.

Third, be careful—as Kagan argues in his most compelling chapter, "The Foreign Policy of Slavery"—in trying to associate adventurism abroad with illiberalism at home. More often in American history the opposite has been true. Intervention was not a Republican or Democratic monopoly; by the end of the 19th century it was associated with a progressive spirit. In contrast, the self-proclaimed anti-imperialists of the early and mid-19th century were southern slaveholders, who feared that an expansive American culture—along with new territory—would render their archaic servile culture isolated, parochial, and irrelevant (unless it meant enhancing slavery by annexing Texas or going into the Caribbean). And the postbellum Democratic party either retained this reluctance to "waste" American resources abroad or, in fact, actively resented trying to extend modern democracy to the backward and non-white Other, partly in fear that a resulting powerful Yankee government might turn its attention not just to faraway oppressed Latin Americans and Asians, but also nearby to the Jim Crow, post-Reconstruction South.

The checks on innate American ambition were more material than ideological. Kagan reminds us that our 'call to greatness' got us involved in many 'small wars.'

What Kagan shows, although again this is not his overt intent, is that contemporary criticism of American idealism and intervention abroad is not always legitimately rooted in concern about harming both ourselves and others but, more disturbingly, in the worry that Americanness might well evolve beyond questions of race, geography, and language. If leftists are delighted that Kagan makes their case for an inherently aggressive United States, they will become only more disappointed to learn that he suggests that this has not always proved to be such a bad thing. And if Michael Lind's *The American Way of Strategy* reads like melodrama, then the message of Kagan's superb *Dangerous Nation* is surely tragic: Given the nature of the American commonwealth, its moral sense, and its rich natural landscape, it was inevitable that we would try to set things right without always knowing what we were doing—or the consequences of our zeal. **NR**

Enemies Within?



The Theocons: Secular America Under Siege, by Damon Linker (Doubleday, 272 pp., $26)

MIDGE DECTER

Of the making of conspiracies to undermine the political well-being of the United States, it seems, there is to be no end. In the past couple of years, of course, considerable attention has been paid by the press to the neoconservatives, alleged to be a group of hardened warmongers originally brought together under the auspices of a long-dead refugee professor named Leo Strauss, whose tentacles reached first into the bowels of the American university and from there, through a group of intellectuals and public officials, into the topmost reaches of the U.S. government. From the White House itself, it is alleged, this conspiracy has been able to produce its most dangerous effect so far, namely, to grind the faces of the poor while driving the country into an illegitimate and unwinnable war in Iraq. Now the neocons, who to begin with were not all bad—at least in the view of Damon Linker, the author of this new book—are in danger of losing out to a newer conspiracy: that of a group he calls the theocons.

As Doubleday announces on the book's cover, the author exposes the presence in our midst of "a few determined men" who

Midge Decter is the author most recently of *Rumsfeld: A Personal Portrait.*

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have all too successfully sought "to inject their radical religious ideas into the nation's politics." This new gang of conspirators happens to center around an organization known as the Institute on Religion and Public Life, whose leader is a Catholic priest named Father Richard John Neuhaus and one of whose main instrumentalities is a monthly magazine called *First Things*.

Now, though there was considerable amusement to be found in watching certain members of the press try to wrap their minds around the relation between the rather thorny philosophical works of Professor Strauss and the Iraq War, Damon Linker's connection to his subject has, at least for a time, been very much firsthand. Though he does not mention it in the body of the book, and in his two-page acknowledgments makes no more than a brief mention of Richard Neuhaus's "unfailing generosity," Damon Linker did actually serve as the editor of *First Things*—indeed, very close to, or perhaps precisely until, the very moment that he sat down to write his exposé. It is somewhat difficult, then, to decide whether he had caught on to what he clearly feels is the nefarious nature of the enterprise, and had been entertaining disloyal thoughts about it, from the start; or whether he had experienced a massive sea-change in attitude in a rather short span of time. (Full disclosure: I served as *an* editor—not *the* editor—at *First Things* from 1990 to 1995; and I now serve on its editorial board.)

Unfailingly generous or not, in Linker's account Richard Neuhaus is *primus inter pares* of those "who propose to sanctify and spiritualize the nation's public life, while also eliding fundamental distinctions between church and state, the sacred and the secular." If successful, he observes, such efforts "would not be fatal to the nation, but they would cripple it, effectively transforming the country into what would be recognized around the world as a Catholic-Christian republic."

In this account of their power to cripple the nation, the theocons surprisingly appear not to be so very numerous: Joining Neuhaus in the Catholic triumvirate are Michael Novak, author of *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*, and George Weigel, author of the official biography of Pope John Paul II. These three get important support from two academics: Robert P. George, director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton and co-author of the Federal Marriage Amendment endorsed by President Bush in 2004, and Hadley Arkes, a passionate opponent of abortion and a believer in the principle of natural rights enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. (Arkes, who is Jewish, might be said to embody the unity of the two conspiracy theories, connecting the Catholic cabal and the one that originated in the work of Leo Strauss.)

The Linker-designated leaders of the cabal are people who had in the 1960s been radically pro–civil rights and anti–Vietnam War but who by the 1970s came to believe that the country was in an ever-deepening cultural—for which read also religious—crisis, a crisis, indeed, to which some of their more careless earlier position-taking may even have contributed. As Linker tells it, Neuhaus's ambition was and remains a massive and dangerous one: the Catholicization of American political and social thought.

For while Neuhaus had briefly entertained the hope that in Protestant groups like the Moral Majority the new theocon conspiracy had found natural allies for its ambition to stir up a populist insurrection against the secularism of America's cultural elites, he soon discovered that these hoped-for allies would not serve his purpose. Except for some of the more radically evangelical, with whom he would indeed succeed in making common cause, too much of American Protestantism had in his view grown servile beneath the heel of the liberal culture. And thus—in Linker's account, when it comes to Neuhaus, there is to be no damned nonsense about something called "faith"—the cabal's leader decided to create theoconservatism both in the image, and through the spread, of Roman Catholicism. Moreover, the Catholicism he had in mind was not that of just any Catholic but rather that of the most powerful conservative forces within the Church: the papacies of John Paul II and latterly Benedict XVI, along with such Europe-based lay organizations as Opus Dei and the Legionaries of Christ. Thus it was that in 1990, the Lutheran pastor Neuhaus gave up on his earlier faith and, by 1991, would be ordained a priest of the Church of Rome.

Linker frets that while some of the theocons' ambitions, such as the criminalization of abortion and amendment of the Constitution to restrict the rights of homosexuals, are more or less familiar to the general public, others seem more ominously to have gone unrecognized. There was, for instance, the theocon role, evidently played in darkest secret, in President Bush's intervention in the right-to-die case of Terri Schiavo. There was the continuing theocon effort to sow skepticism about Darwinian evolution and to teach the scientifically groundless theory of "intelligent design" in the public schools. Above all, along with the promotion of a return to patriarchy in the family, there was the many-pronged effort to establish a future America "reconstituted as an emphatically Catholic-Christian nation."

Linker warns that a number of these ambitions are all too dangerously being shared by the Republican party. For instance, while the theocons are realistic enough to recognize that their hopes for a reversion to what he calls a "premodern family structure" presently seem far-fetched, they can at least begin to further them—do one's eyes deceive?—"by standing with the Republican party in its

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opposition to such policies as government support for day care and paid maternity and paternity leave."

To be sure, not all of the book's analysis attains to this level of risibility. But it might have seemed a difficult task to warn the country about a conspiracy to drag it back into that dark world "of religiously inspired social and political strife," when the actual instrumentalities of so nefarious a plot are an institute that occupies no more than eight rooms of a New York City office building, and that sets out to influence the national culture by issuing an occasional public statement, holding public discussions and lectures, and publishing a monthly magazine of serious intellectual discourse. (Nor is that discourse, which so disturbs Linker, by any means all doctrinally Catholic, or even indirectly influenced by Catholicism—although probably the magazine's most popular feature is Neuhaus's own searching and witty column, "The Public Square.")

The author of this polemic against Neuhaus, Novak, Weigel, and their allies fails to understand that the story of the "theocons"—like that of the "neocons"—is a story of conversion. Some would call their conversion an intellectual one; many more would call it a religious one. However characterized, these conversions took place with fear and trembling in the face of what was in some respects perhaps the deepest cultural and spiritual crisis their country had ever been through. There was nothing, the young were saying, worth dying for. There was nothing, the old were saying, worth living for. Our existence, said the poor, is not in our hands but yours. Our crime, said the criminals, is not our responsibility but yours. And meanwhile all the institutions of the culture—schools, universities, churches, synagogues, the press, the arts, the prize-givers—seemed to be united in celebration of the onrushing tides of social disintegration.

And this, as they say, is where Richard Neuhaus and company came in.

It took no conspiracy with Rome to bring the country back at least a somewhat safer distance from that brink; all it required was the growing recognition among growing numbers of Americans that freedom doesn't come free, and that it is based in a belief in the kind of personal responsibility that liberalism has long forgotten and that atheism could never understand in the first place. That such a recognition now depends so much on Catholics and evangelicals speaks not to what this book calls "an eschatological longing for the radical transformation of the nation" but rather to the failure of mainline Protestants and liberal Jews to uphold the wisdom of their respective faiths.

There is still a long way to go on America's journey back from the brink; and to the extent that the people Damon Linker wants to warn us against are helping to keep the country on that path, it is they, and not the advocates of such necessities to a fulfilled life as day care and paid maternity and paternity leave, on whom American security and well-being must ultimately depend. **NR**

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Parting the Waters

From My Cold, Dead Hands: Charlton Heston and American Politics, by Emilie Raymond (Kentucky, 416 pp., $27.95)

CATHERINE SEIPP

BEFORE *neocon* became standard liberal code for *Bush-lover* or *warmongering Jew*, the usual insulting reference tossed at the rare uncloseted Hollywood conservative was *Charlton Heston*. As in: Charlton Heston, crazed gun nut. Or: Charlton Heston, aging, ultra-square star of corny hit movies like *The Ten Commandments* or *Planet of the Apes*. You can't be serious! Charlton *Heston*? Why would anyone be on the same political side as *him*?

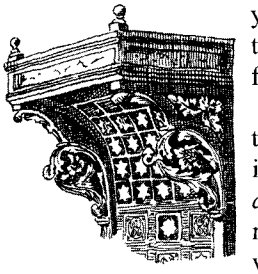
Other than being employed as terms of disapproval and having some overlap in political philosophy, Heston and the neocons wouldn't seem to have much in common. But in her long, strained slog of an argument, *From My Cold, Dead Hands*, Virginia Commonwealth University history professor Emilie Raymond has expanded an academic thesis into an entire book insisting that, well, they do. The end result is just like going to the movies, in that it depends on suspension of disbelief.

Catherine Seipp is a Los Angeles writer who publishes the weblog Cathy's World. She is also a contributor to National Review Online.

The book is only partly, and superficially, a biography; it is chiefly, as the jacket copy informs readers, "a chronicle of the resurgence of American conservative thought and, in particular, the birth of neoconservatism." But the connection between Heston and the neocons is artificial and depends almost entirely on passages such as the following, about Heston's distaste, when he was Screen Actors Guild president, for racial politics in casting:

> The actors Iron Eyes Cody and Kid Chissell complained that "everybody is playing Indians" except Indians. Heston took the conservative side of the debate, arguing that the Guild "cannot make actors totally interchangeable and cannot deny the producer the right to cast the actor he thinks is right for the role." Heston's was a judgment with which the neocons would have agreed.

That's pretty much what you're in for here, except when Raymond adds some variety by beginning with the neocons and ending, after some pretzel-like twisting, with Heston: "But it was not until McGovern's nomination that he left the party for good, concluding finally that it was 'not hospitable to any degree of conservatism.'"



Heston? No, Irving Kristol. But Raymond continues: "Heston experienced a similar revelation over Memorial Day weekend in 1972." Okay, then! Apparently, Heston experienced this revelation without picking up the special hotline a casual reader of this book might have thought existed between the actor and Neocon HQ, because at no point does Raymond suggest that Heston and any prominent neocon ever actually met.

The author is a noticeably passive biographer as well as an unenterprising political historian: Although she conducted an interview with the actor before Alzheimer's forced him to retire from public life in 2003, she apparently never bothered to ask him if he considered himself a neocon. Nor did she ever call any of the neocons mentioned in her book to ask what they thought of Heston—which is beyond lazy.

Even for an ivory-tower academic, Raymond seems remarkably immune to anything of topical interest. The title phrase, "from my cold, dead hands," gained a new level of notoriety when Michael Moore spliced together a few of Heston's gun-rights speeches (which included it) in his documentary *Bowling for Columbine*. After the film won an Oscar in 2003, pro- and anti-Moore bloggers warred over the accuracy of the film's Heston scenes. None of this is in Raymond's book; just about all she mentions is that "Moore let the camera linger on Heston's painful gait, then left a framed photograph of a gun victim on Heston's stoop." (Incidentally, Beverly Hills homes do not have stoops.)

Because the book tries to examine all of American conservatism through the prism of one Hollywood star, allow me to provide a little context, and describe what it's really like to be a conservative in Los Angeles. First of all, a Hollywood conservative is something that most people here assume you cannot be. Their eyes practically roll back and read TILT—or they look embarrassed for you, as if you'd just announced that you're the ambassador from Pluto.

Right before the 2000 election, *TV Guide* asked me to interview *Curb Your Enthusiasm*'s Larry David about his new show. After the interview, we were waiting for our cars, and I mentioned how five years as a public-school parent had turned me into a Republican. Then I admitted that, yes, this meant I was voting for Bush. David's jaw quite literally dropped. (The cartoon version would have shown it

DINOSAURS

Nature I think is beautiful
It does not know its thorns
It lives on pleasure plentiful—
Each leaf and bird adorns

The lizard roared where he would be
Arrayed in coat of mail;
I wish that every eye might see—
I would not harm a scale

—MARY EWALD

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actually crashing to the floor.) When I got home there was a message from him on my voicemail, referring me to a Gail Sheehy article about Bush in that month's *Vanity Fair*, which I guess he assumed would change my mind about voting Republican. I read it and it didn't, because, you know, for one thing, it was by Gail Sheehy. But whatever you think of Bush, he did get around 48 percent of the vote even then, so he was never exactly a fringe candidate. Yet if I'd said I was voting for Nader, or even Lyndon LaRouche, people here would have just smiled and nodded.

And not so long ago, some entertainment-industry friends sold their West L.A. home in a heated bidding war. Who was the winner? "He's a *Republican*," the wife said, lowering her voice as if covenants were being violated, which informally I suppose they were. "But . . . very nice!"

It is sort of okay to be a libertarian conservative in Hollywood, because after the 1992 riots, even Democratic money people began to resemble the proverbial liberal who'd been mugged. And back to Charlton Heston: Suddenly his name could be mentioned in polite society sans the usual accompaniment of mimed retching. When Heston became president of the National Rifle Association in 1998, the *L.A. Times* ran a follow-up feature that was, although tinged with sarcasm, not entirely unsympathetic. It began: "Let's hear it for Chuck Heston, America's new Top Gun."

Raymond is so determined to advance her Heston=Neocon thesis that she ignores or downplays evidence that he has always seemed more in tune with the libertarians, and not only because of his devotion to the Second Amendment. It's true, of course, that not everyone in Hollywood quite knows what "libertarian" means. They do know that libertarians are for legalized drugs, and against any criticism of bad language or sex in the Hollywood product, so . . . great! Once a TV producer told me that he liked libertarians, but not those awful neocons, who want to cut funding for after-school programs. I didn't have the heart to point out that, actually, cutting funding for after-school programs is more of a libertarian thing. When you're on the right in Hollywood, you take whatever approval you can get. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

The Peacemaker

MICHAEL POTEMRA

"WHY are you doing this?" a political consultant asked Ronald Reagan in a quiet moment of the 1980 campaign. "Why do you want to be president?" Reagan's answer was simple, surprising, and unhesitating: "To end the Cold War. There has to be a way, and it's time."

In ***The Crusader: Ronald Reagan and the Fall of Communism*** (Regan, 432 pp., $29.95), Paul Kengor makes clear just how central the defeat of the Soviet Union was to Reagan's personal project. Kengor, the author of biographies of Reagan and George W. Bush that focused on the two men's religious attitudes and practices, here trains his eye on the Main Event in Reagan's public life. His detailed account of the eight years in which Reagan managed the end of the Cold War will solidify the new consensus of historians: Reagan was a highly able man, who played a crucial role in the relatively peaceful eclipsing of the most dangerous regime in world history.

In January 1983, Reagan approved a policy document known as NSDD-75, which declared that henceforth the U.S. goal would be not merely "containing and reversing Soviet expansion" but also "promoting evolutionary change within the Soviet Union itself." As Kengor points out, this policy was highly controversial: It was assailed by both the Western and Communist-bloc press. But Reagan was committed to it as a long-term strategy, and would not be sidetracked.

Ink has been lavishly spilled on Rea-

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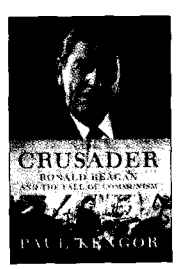
gan's skill as a rhetorician and orator; in Kengor's volume we also see a lesser-known side of Reagan, one just as important to the eventual victory over Communism. Consider one vignette Kengor recounts, concerning the September 1983 incident in which the Soviets shot down the Korean passenger airplane KAL 007:

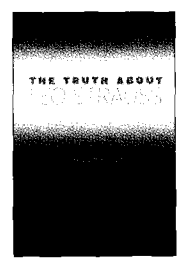
> Though Reagan was steamed and blasted the Soviets in a statement, he reacted quite cautiously, and much more carefully than his critics would have imagined . . . He told [national security adviser William] Clark: "[L]et's be careful not to overreact to this. We have too much going on with the Soviets in arms control. We must not derail our progress." "Bill," he said, "we've got to protect against overreaction."

This is almost a textbook example of prudence: knowing not just what to do but when to do it, and making all judgments with a view toward the endgame. Anyone who is tempted to confuse prudence with halfheartedness would do well to study the singlemindedness with which Reagan followed his multi-track anti-Communist strategy.



Kengor includes as an appendix a KGB document alleging that, in 1983, Massachusetts senator Edward Kennedy approached Soviet general secretary Yuri Andropov through intermediaries to try to undercut Reagan. If true, the document's allegations prove that Kennedy didn't understand that Reagan had the right idea on how to end the Cold War and promote world peace. Nor would Kennedy have been alone: Reagan's liberal and conservative critics alike viewed him, for different reasons, as a dangerously simplistic foreign-policy thinker. (Kennedy himself admitted after Reagan's death in 2004 that Reagan "will be honored as the president who won the Cold War.") Kengor's book tells the story of how, step by step, Reagan's strategy worked.

■ The late émigré philosopher Leo Strauss has achieved a great deal of posthumous notoriety, demonized by the Left as the cynical spiritual father of imperialist U.S. policies. Strauss's thought deserves better—and gets it, in ***The Truth about Leo Strauss: Political Philosophy and American Democracy*** (Chicago, 306 pp., $32.50), by Catherine and Michael Zuckert. The authors, professors at Notre Dame, contend that Strauss made three central affirmations about America: "1. America is modern. 2. Modernity is bad. 3. America is good." They wryly note that "it does not take a Ph.D. in logic to recognize some difficulty in the coexistence of these three propositions," and proceed to tease out how Strauss could indeed have seen them as reconcilable. Strauss, they write, "finds America good relative to the alternatives available within modernity . . . he finds modernity not wholly or uniformly bad, and America not wholly or uniformly modern." Strauss, in short, had a nuanced and realistic view of America's liberal democracy, and viewed it as worth defending. In the Zuckerts' words:



> The classical view of politics that Strauss advocated involved a recognition that since the wise will not rule, government ought to be limited, and those limits should take the form of laws. On the basis of that observation, Strauss concluded that "liberal or constitutional democracy comes closer to what the classics demanded than any alternative that is viable in our age." . . . His experience as a young Jew in Weimar Germany had led him to doubt the viability of liberal democracy . . . as it was defended on the basis of the principles of the Enlightenment. These doubts about certain manifestations and rationales for liberal democracy did not, however, turn Strauss into an opponent of that kind of regime, as is often said in the recent discussions of him.

The American Founders were heirs to the Enlightenment project, and thus wanted to put in place highly utilitarian institutions—which is to say, ones whose functioning was not utterly dependent on the characters of the political leaders of a given moment. But they also believed in the cultivation of moral and religious character; and this has remained a powerful undercurrent in the American polity, preventing it from becoming what might be called a hollow, procedural republic. The underlying respect for virtue has made the U.S. a mixed regime in which democratic elections allow some leeway to the aristocratic principle—choice based on merit, as opposed to pure self-interest—and thus the excesses Aristotle feared from a pure mob democracy have largely been avoided in this country. Strauss opposed modernity per se, but he saw on these shores a type of modernity that worked.

■ Gilbert Meilaender is renowned as a bioethicist, but over half of his new collection of essays is devoted to much broader issues. In ***The Freedom of a Christian: Grace, Vocation, and the Meaning of Our Humanity*** (Brazos, 192 pp., $22.99), Meilaender tackles in a rewarding way the thought of such figures as Augustine, Luther, Barth, and John Paul II on the Christian life.

Especially fascinating is his discussion of Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling*. God commanded Abraham to sacrifice Isaac; does this "teleological suspension of the ethical" mean the Scriptures themselves teach the radical relativization of ethics? According to Meilaender, the lesson lies deeper than that. The moral law is indeed relativized, he writes, "not that *we* may be free—but that *God* may be." Man's idolatrous tendency is to elevate ethics to absolute status, to seek security in the rules themselves. But, Meilaender reminds us, "the moral life . . . is not our possession, but the gift of God. . . . The way of life that is faith, as an immediate relation to God for which no conclusive

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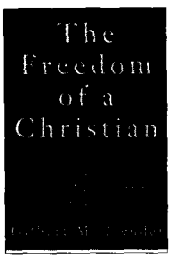
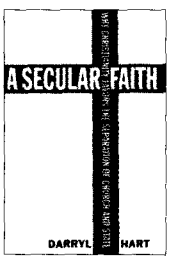
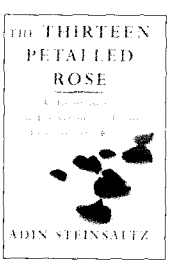
argument can be given, is not a possession that anyone can hand on to others. We cannot even hand it on without fail to our children; it just cannot be mediated." What Kierkegaard is doing is not an effort to relativize ethics per se, but to re-root them more solidly in the will of God.



Nor is this merely theological hairsplitting, of interest purely to those who like to contemplate the angels dancing on the head of a scholastic pin. This very issue erupted into the global headlines recently, because it was the subject of Pope Benedict XVI's Regensburg lecture that provoked such outrage. Ironically enough, the pope's lecture was not directed at the would-be jihadists who took such umbrage at it; it was an attempt to engage in the centuries-long Western conversation between those who stress that God *is* Reason and those who stress that He is also *above* Reason. The Greek word *Logos* means both "reason" and "word," and is one of the names applied to Christ in the New Testament; Benedict said that a move away from emphasizing this identification of God with Reason risks giving rise "to the image of a capricious God, who is not even bound to truth and goodness, [a view in which] God's transcendence and otherness are so exalted that our reason, our sense of the true and good, are no longer an authentic mirror of God, whose deepest possibilities remain eternally unattainable and hidden behind His actual decisions."



Meilaender's essay on Kierkegaard, written before the current controversy, is a thought-provoking account of how God and Reason are related. His approach avoids the extremes both of a purely Hellenistic identification of the two (something the pope himself cautioned against) and of a comprehensively de-Hellenizing concept of an un-reasonable, inaccessible God. Like all of the essays in this fine book, it deserves close attention.



■ Discussions of the relation of religion to politics typically focus on the benefits and drawbacks of this relation for politics. In ***A Secular Faith: Why Christianity Favors the Separation of Church and State*** (Ivan R. Dee, 288 pp., $26.95), Darryl Hart of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute looks at the other side of the coin: Is religious involvement in politics good for religion? He makes a strong case for reemphasizing the otherworldly element in Christianity—whose Founder, he reminds us, stressed that His kingdom was not of this world. "Using the Christian faith as the basis for culture or politics," Hart writes, "actually trivializes Christianity." It is Christianity itself that has been decisive in the development in the West of what we know as the "secular sphere"—the work of politics and government, which has its own dignity as a proper work of man. Moral principles informed by religion can and should influence this work, but there is no need to blur the boundary by campaigning for political positions as explicitly "Christian"—or by condemning them as such. Hart suggests, as a model for Christians today, the Biblical prophet Daniel. A devout religious believer, Daniel lived a "hyphenated life": He was assimilated to Chaldean culture, and even mastered its pagan lore so thoroughly that he became a key counselor to the king; yet he still maintained the courage to practice his faith, even when it was outlawed by the very politicians with whom he was cooperating.

■ Centuries before Madonna and other celebrities turned it into a public craze focused on superstitious strings and other trinkets, kabbalah was one of the most impressive achievements of the human religious spirit. Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz, scholar and translator of the Talmud, wrote a moving and accessible introduction to Jewish mysticism, a new edition of which has just been issued by Basic Books. ***The Thirteen Petalled Rose: A Discourse on the Essence of Jewish Existence and Belief*** (200 pp., $14.95) is an eloquent distillation of the Jewish faith—a spiritual system that encompasses the Divine without scanting the material world, and in which repentance, the turning toward God, is so important that it is held to have been created even before the world itself. **NR**

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION
(required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Publication Title: NATIONAL REVIEW

2. Publication Number: 374-120

3. Filing Date: September 26, 2006

4. Issue Frequency: Bi-weekly

5. Number of Issues Published Annually: 24

6. Annual Subscription Price: $59.00

7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

7A. Contact Person: Jason Ng

7B. Telephone: (212) 849-2829

8. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher: 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Jack Fowler, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Editor: Richard Lowry, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Managing Editor: Jay Nordlinger, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

10. Owner: National Review, Inc., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Constitutional Enterprises Corporation., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities: None

13. Publication Title: NATIONAL REVIEW

14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: October 9, 2006

15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average no. copies of each issue during preceding 12 months	Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
A. Total Number of Copies	173,200	172,700
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation		
1. Paid/Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions Stated on Form 3541	154,936	155,240
2. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Non-USPS Paid Distribution	4,998	4,000
C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation	159,934	159,240
D. Free Distribution by Mail 2.In-County as Stated on Form 3541	1,356	1,444
E. Free Distribution Outside the Mail	3,429	4,428
F. Total Free Distribution	4,785	5,872
G. Total Distribution	164,719	165,112
H. Copies not Distributed	8,481	7,588
I. Total	173,200	172,700
J. Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	97%	96%

16. Publication of Statement of Ownership: Will be printed in the October 23, 2006, issue of this publication.

17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner

JASON NG
Circulation Manager 9/26/06

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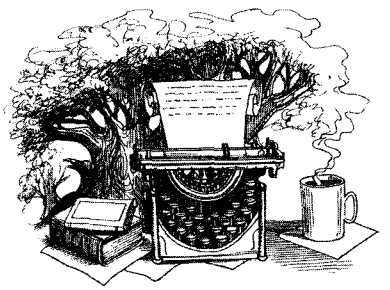
■ COUNTRY LIFE ■

Beans, Beans



RICHARD BROOKHISER

In my valley the frost date—the date after which you may expect no frosts at night—is Memorial Day. Now some tough kales and spinaches will survive all winter under the snow, and the traditional date for planting peas is St. Patrick's Day. But everything else gets planted in a happier time, when the green curtain has fallen again and the first wave of life has washed over the world. We planted our beans on an overcast day when the rain held off for the afternoon. We had ordered the seeds online. They were cheap enough—$1.25 to $1.75 per package—and planting them was simplicity itself. You poked a hole in the soil, dropped in a bean, covered it up, and moved on.

I have had bad experience with bush beans. They come up as stubby little shrubs, coy and ungiving. But my pole beans have always gone nuts. So it was this spring. We planted three kinds: romanos, a wide flat green bean; purple trionfo violettos, a purple string bean; and speckled calicos, a large red and white lima bean in a light green pod. In six days, the plants had sprouted, and once they were free of the earth they began their upward flight. Our garden is fenced with hardware cloth stapled to cedar posts. Deer could clear the seven-foot height, but never do, because they don't like being enclosed. The posts do double duty as bean highways. Free marketeers are always saying, give men opportunity, and they will better themselves. Beans say, give us a post and we will head for the sun. They make a slim green spiral, tough as twine, but finer, and smooth. When they reach the top of a pole, they pause, as if puzzled. An exploratory frond reaches out, at an angle, seeking some purchase. Frustrated, it doubles back upon itself. Introspection? Self-abuse? The romanos formed a leafy mass at the top of the fence like a green cloud, hanging down for sheer weight. They tangled with the asparagus plants, they got into the compost bins. Their wall of the garden became the bower of beans.

In *Emile*, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the lifelong tutor, also named Jean-Jacques, has Emile, his lifelong student, plant beans, in order to teach him the meaning of property. Allan Bloom used to tell Saul Bellow that *Emile* was a great novel; Bellow had to explain patiently that it's terrible. The beans were a good touch though. Even a youth as backward as Emile could make a go of a bean patch. When I was a youth I saw *Mickey and the Beanstalk*, Walt Disney's version of the fairy tale with Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, and Goofy subbing for Jack. It is decadent Disney, replacing menace with buffoonery. But the scene of the magical beanstalk shooting up overnight was only a heightened version of what real beanstalks do.

The weather this summer was erratic. There was a short, blistering drought, bracketed by periods of rain. The stream, which usually shrinks to a trickle, or a series of still, silent pools, ran all summer long. The bean plants were whipsawed; they did not seem to know what to make of it. Flowers appeared on the fronds, small and simple, white for the romanos, purple for the trionfos, but still no beans. Had they put all their energy into vines and leaves? I suppose it happens; you learn to expect anything from nature.

Free marketeers are always saying, give men opportunity, and they will better themselves. Beans say, give us a post and we will head for the sun.

Then at the end of August the beans began to come. The purple beans arrived first. You could collect them by fistfuls. If you didn't lift up the leaves to look for hidden lurkers, you would come back in a week to find that they had grown eight inches long. Picking them was like shopping for dinner, except there were no check-out lines. Everything was on the honor system: earth's honor. Plant, and I'll feed you. The mass of romanos started off stingily, but then became if possible even more prolific. The lima beans haven't done so well, but perhaps they are still waiting to surprise me. Like other vegetables, bean plants can be determinate or indeterminate. The former produce all at once. The latter can produce repeatedly over time. If you don't harvest indeterminate beans, they will stop with one crop, believing that their work is done. But so long as you keep taking the beans away, new ones will keep forming.

Cooking them is easy. Boil water, steam. Or you can throw them into a soup, with everything else from the garden. Or if you need a snack while picking and pruning, eat a few raw. I respect beans that can survive transportation. All honor to the farmers of California and Chile who grow them for us, and to the shippers who bring them to our supermarkets. But beans from the front yard or (at the farthest) down the road are a different species.

Rousseau turned to beans for instruction, but Disney was wiser. They teach no moral. We impute aspiration to their thrust, but it is the simplest aspiration in the world: more. More of the same, more of me. A polemicist for family values could say that the bean pods show an interest in reproduction, and the next generation. But be careful of that argument, for it casts a greenish (or purplish) light on two-legged, sentient families. Do we have them to raise new individuals in love, or because we love ourselves? Beans just want to keep going forever. And who, bathed in early autumn sun, will blame them? Such a present would make a fine eternity.

Beans live until the first frost, generally the first full moon in October. After that bite, the leaves look stunned, whacked. Then it's time to start taking the garden down. Peeling the vines from the posts is patient work, like untying knots. You cut them off at the root, chop them with shears, and put them into the compost. NR

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Missing from The Pope

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 19

THE talk over the weekend concerning the pope's blunder had to do with his under-instruction in diplomacy. Several matters were cited, among them that he had, for lack of intelligent concern, dispatched his principal Arabist to Cairo on a trivial diplomatic mission. The assumption is that if His Holiness had had his ship in order, somebody would have told him that the little paragraph about Islam in his forthcoming speech at the University of Regensburg would bring on a major diplomatic foofaraw.

This dark view of things seemed to be validated by the headlines on Monday, which spoke of an unprecedented "apology" by Pope Benedict for the words he had spoken. Fastidious analysts of course did not find exactly that. What he said was that he was truly sorry for the hurt those words had caused among the Muslim faithful. There is a world of difference between expressing regret and apologizing. One apologizes for something one did and has responsibility for. The Emperor Hirohito could plausibly apologize for Pearl Harbor; everybody else could only express regret over Pearl Harbor.

Substantially lost in the caterwauling was the pope's objective in his speech, which was to bemoan the dissipation of faith and efforts to separate it from reason. The paragraph quoting the Byzantine emperor's words about Islam was intended to remark historical accretions in religion that the pope was deploring as undesirable developments. He might also have remarked the crusading days of the Christian church as a regrettable historical development.

It is true that the language of Manuel II Paleologus, the 14th-century Byzantine Christian emperor, could be taken as deploring something the emperor thought ingrained in the Muslim faith. The quoted words were, "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new, and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached."

For the pope to apologize for reminding the world of sentiments expressed in the 14th century is not the same thing as to deny that the sentiments were germane to deliberations on modern expressions of faith. Here indeed is where the pope had things to say worth listening to by people of every faith, or of no faith. And for all that he regretted citing those words, His Holiness did not pause to examine them.

Examine what?

Examine the question whether much that is being spoken today in the name of the faith by many of the apostles of Islam is to be regretted.

Either a faithful Muslim exhorts the use of the sword to spread his faith, or he does not. The critics of the pope speak as if it were plain as day that such sentiments are deplored by licensed voices of Islam, but the matter is not so easily disposed of. If a Christian leader were to pronounce the need to eliminate a country whose religious leaders were dogmatically misled, that leader would be disowned by the larger Christian community. But Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is the leader of a powerful nation who continues to call for the elimination of Israel. And we can't even satisfy ourselves by saying, "Well, our Byzantine emperor had his number, all right!"

The great unanswered question in modern political thought is: Who speaks for Muhammad? To ask this isn't to ask for a direct line to the prophet, let alone to God. It is a temporal question, answered, in Catholic Christianity, by: the pope.

The ugly fact of the matter is that the faith espoused by some very big-time practitioners today is one or another radical variant of Islam. The Wahhabi form of Sunni Islam rules in Saudi Arabia, and an offshoot of it in Egypt. In Iran, the regnant faith is a radical Shiite Islam.

But who is to say what is the authentic voice of the Islamic exegesis? There is no Islamic Council that can speak with authority in these matters. And surely what the pope was attempting to say, or should have been attempting to say, was that behavior of certain kinds has no warrant to excuse itself simply by citing someone's interpretation of the Koran.

But to delve into that question becomes, ironically, more difficult rather than less since the pope's speech at Regensburg, and for this the pope could legitimately apologize.

One Part Macaca

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 22

MEMBERS of the voting public who have slogged their way through the difficulties of Virginia's Sen. George Allen in the past month have found it heavy going. What stopped this breathless spectator was the final exchange between Mr. Allen and his mother. But let's rehearse that relationship for just a minute . . .

A few weeks ago, son George asked his mother about rumors that she had been born Jewish. She confirmed the truth of the rumors but bound him to silence in the matter. Legitimate question: Why?

Presumably she believed that if one had hidden such a datum throughout one's life, some sniffy—and proud—Jews would reasonably conclude that she was ashamed of her Jewish background. As to why she hid it in the first place, she told reporters that she and her husband (the famous football coach) hadn't wanted their children to grow up with the fear of persecution that she had lived with. Whether this was her actual motive, it was understandable that she swore George to secrecy when she first told him. To reveal her ethnicity in the last weeks of a political race might damage her son, who would be viewed as an accomplice in his mother's deception.

But as the world now knows, Mother Allen specifically released son George from his commitment to silence, and then enjoined him to make public the datum.

Here is where the story achieved sheer mawkishness. "On CNN," as the *New York Times* reports it, "Mr. Allen recounted his mother's saying: 'I didn't want to tell you. Do you love me? You won't love

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me as much.' Mr. Allen said he responded, 'I love you even more.'"

Well, this non-Virginian discloses that he loves the pair of them less.

Let us, if only for the practice, weigh the considerations of a popular senator running for reelection. As a Republican, Senator Allen could reasonably assume that he would fare less well in the Jewish community than his Democratic opponent because of Jewish voters' traditional disposition in favor of the Democrat. In the last national election, Jewish voters went for Kerry three to one over Bush.

So? What might Allen do to appeal to reluctant Jews?

Identify himself as a blood brother!

That thought may have figured in Mother's calculations when she confirmed what was otherwise merely a hypothetical claim.

Democratic contender James Webb hasn't challenged the freshly publicized blood lines, he has said merely that the whole thing suggests racial bias on the part of Mr. Allen. By the whole thing, he has in mind what brought up the question of ethnic background in the first place. That was the use by Senator Allen of the word "macaca" in addressing a Webb campaign aide. Most people don't know what that word means, but a blind test would almost certainly yield the guess that the word was an animadversion ("Don't you call me macaca, big boy, understand?"), though I suppose much hangs on the tone of voice in which the word is pronounced. Try using it as if to describe St. Francis of Assisi.

If anything is clear in Virginia it is that Allen wishes he had never heard the word macaca. It is possibly in desperation at the reaction to her son's use of macaca that Mrs. Allen thought of a possible means of *augmenting* ethnic attractiveness by recalling her Jewish roots. So, George ran with it, and at this point, gives the impression of running in every direction.

Vote for Lieberman?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 26

THE question most frequently asked in Connecticut of right-wing voters is: Whom do you intend to vote for on November 7? There are only two patriotic answers to that, but hang on as the drama unfolds.

Voting is what you do every two years—and then, mostly, repine, wondering whether democracy really does anything for you beyond giving that little throb of tactile pleasure in recording your enthusiasm for one candidate or—and this pleasure is very keen—your loathing for another candidate. That last is a vital contribution to democratic hygiene, effected by candidates who arouse every hate gland in your withered frame, thereby offering a pure draught of remedial youthful joy, and you leave the voting booth humming "John Brown's Body."

The all-time generator of negative conservative satisfactions was Lowell Weicker. He was first senator from Connecticut, then governor. He was the King of Schadenfreude: dispenser of the nectar of health & satisfaction when we conservatives had a chance to vote against him. It is a prime chapter in this narrative that the man who defeated Weicker in 1988 was none other than—Joe Lieberman. That adds up to a huge debt to Lieberman felt by Connecticut conservatives.

Now three alternatives are offered to the voters in November. One of them is to vote for the Democratic nominee, Ned Lamont, who defeated Lieberman in the primary.

Ned Lamont hasn't been around long enough to generate true 100 proof animosity. But he is off to a very good start. He has criticized everything President Bush has done and said respecting our presence in Iraq and has associated himself with the national left-wing opposition to a foreign policy that seeks to confront anti-American activity abroad and to intervene where necessary to interrupt the evolution of terrorism.

This makes the critical difference in contemporary politics, in Connecticut and elsewhere. Irrespective of one's position on the Iraq campaign, do we want to endorse a neoisolationist removal from the world scene? Such a movement as would satisfy MoveOn.org? Those are the people so enthusiastic about the defeat of Lieberman, which practically speaking can't be done without electing Lamont.

It is required, in telling the whole story, to acknowledge that there is a Republican nominee. His name is Alan Schlesinger, and as of this writing, he has not broken into two-digit life in the polls.

Connecticut periodically acknowledges the two-party system, as for instance by tolerating a Republican governor, who is very popular and anticipates reelection. But Schlesinger got hung up on casino questions when he was mayor of Derby and has not emerged as a viable contender.

This makes the reasoning of the conservative voter complicated. There is an understandable reluctance to cast a ballot the effect of which could be to turn the Senate over to Democratic management. The organizational vote is very tight. The Democrats need to gain six seats in order to organize the Senate next January.

Mr. Lieberman—just to begin with—is not an orthodox conservative. He is closer to being an orthodox liberal. If you subtracted from his record his important votes on international affairs, he would emerge as a blue-ribbon Democrat, the kind of Democrat a Democratic presidential candidate could comfortably tag for vice president. It is not surprising, then, that, even though Lieberman is running as an independent, he has said that if sent back to the Senate, he would join with the Democrats to organize the chamber. And, conceivably, his vote would be critical.

Add to this complication a further factor. Much of the enthusiasm for Joe Lieberman over the years has been from mainstream Democrats. Their loyalty to him is striking, but in politics, vows of fidelity are renewable every 24 hours. During the primary campaign, both Bill and Hillary Clinton supported Lieberman. After the primary, however, they both shifted over to Lamont, with Bill Clinton giving as his reason that Lieberman had accepted the "Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld" position on the invasion of Iraq.

We leave for last, as is expected in political tallying, the factor of temperament and character. Joe Lieberman is a singular human being. He has personal support—from people who know him, and who sense in him a true love for God and country.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

"You want freedom from desire, eh? How bad do you want it?"

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

The Full Nelson

I WAS reading *Time* magazine the other week. Don't all scoff at once: It was a long flight and the audio-video entertainment had packed up. More specifically, I was reading an interview with Willie Nelson. I love the old coot, got a bunch of his albums, enjoy his station on the XM radio dial, and find him very interesting when he's talking about music. But, of course, *Time* wasn't interviewing him about music but in his capacity as one of the great thinkers of the age. He recently published *The Tao of Willie*, "a book covering Nelsonian philosophy," and *Time* wanted to know what "the big lesson" was. You know, the secret of life and all that jazz. Here's Mr. Nelson's answer in full:

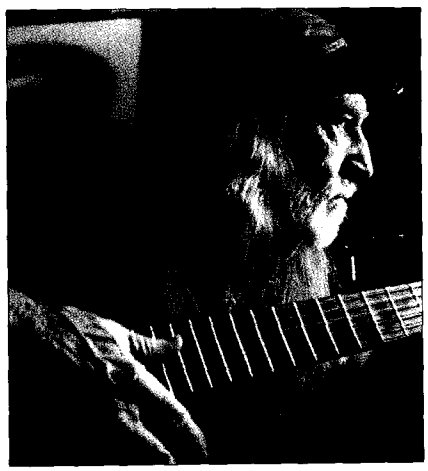
"I've always been the kind of guy that looks for the easy way, and it seems to me the easiest way to get through life is just to accept it and live in the moment."

Remind me to cable Darfur with that one. Well, the book's 20 bucks, so I assume he fleshes it out a little. But the *Time* guys had a penetrating follow-up: "Talking about your Tao seems a long way from your Methodist roots."

"I believe that all roads lead to the same place," expounded Willie. "We're taking different ways to get there, but we all end up in the same place. It's kind of like Kinky Friedman's statement, 'May the God of your choice bless you.' That's the main thoughts that I have about life."

Willie's Big Thought seems to be that you don't want to clutter your head with too many of them. All roads lead to the same place, but some of us take different ways to get there: Some fly planes into skyscrapers leaving instructions in our will that any infidels handling our corpse should wear gloves around our genital area so that the old wedding tackle won't be unclean when we gets to paradise and they line up the 72 virgins; and others lie back and smoke a little weed as our ghostwriter buffs the manuscript of our personal-philosophy manual one last time.

I take my hat off to capitalism. I wouldn't mind Willie unburdening himself of his perfunctory fortune-cookie bons mots in between numbers at Farm Aid, but son of a gun, he got a book deal out of it! This stuff—chill, groove, take it easy, live in the moment, everything's cool, whatever's your bag—still sells, even in a fast-changing world of Islamist terror, North Korean nukes, Iranian apocalyptics, Russian disintegration, European deathbed demography. And these days even the foot-of-page-37 items suggest that history is on the move: The *Minneapolis Star Tribune* carried a story the other day that taxi drivers at Minneapolis International Airport will now have different colored lights on their cabs



A great stoner philosopher

to indicate which ones are prepared to carry passengers with alcohol: About 75 percent of drivers licensed to serve the airport are Somali Muslims and they've been turning away passengers with see-through duty-free bags. "What's going to be next?" wondered flight attendant Eva Buzek, after being refused service by five cabbies. "Do I have to cover my head?" Well, not for a year or two. And probably best not to put a loin of pork in that see-through bag.

And yet a vast swathe of the Left think, like Willie Nelson, that you can just go with the flow, no matter where it washes up. The parochial self-absorption of the "progressive" mind would seem, on the face of it, paradoxical: After all, they're supposed to be the internationalists and communitarians, while the right is selfish and only interested in tax cuts. But the Left has very little interest in the wider world these days except as a vast cast of extras for the moral vanity of their bumper stickers ("Free Tibet", etc.). And, as for community, in the great Cult of Self-Esteem in which our children are immersed from kindergarten there's never any consideration given to the question of collective self-esteem—of whether we should find time amid our hectic schedule of esteeming ourselves also to esteem our society, our civilization, our cultural inheritance.

There is a kind of attractiveness about being absurdly cool, mega-mellow. But mellowness is also a dodge, a kind of cowardice—"Mellow Yellow," so to speak, to evoke a song I hope never to hear again. And yet Nelsonian stoner narcissism is preferable to the Left's principal alternative—the malignant narcissism which demands you abase yourself before one fictional crisis after another. I didn't think the former vice president could improve on his breezy assertion last year that the earth is out of balance with the rest of the universe. But he effortlessly topped that the other day in an address to the United Nations in which he was reported as telling Kofi and Co., after the usual boilerplate about a "full-scale climate emergency that threatens the future of civilization on earth," that cigarette smoking is a "significant contributor to global warming."

No doubt. Apparently everything is a significant contributor to "climate change," including lack of climate change. My own view is that homophobia causes climate change.

The phantom terrors of allegedly rational "progressives" are amazing in their resilience. Go into the local Barnes & Noble in the Twin Cities. Even as their airport is now operating to Sharia Lite, the display tables are groaning under a weight of new books about the Christian-theocrat takeover of America. There's something very bizarre about a world that rouses itself from its Nelsonian stupor only to obsess about any crisis—non-existent gay-bashers, mythical Christian tormentors, ludicrously hypothetical climate meltdowns—other than the ones that are here and happening right now. **NR**

LOST HIGHWAY RECORDS

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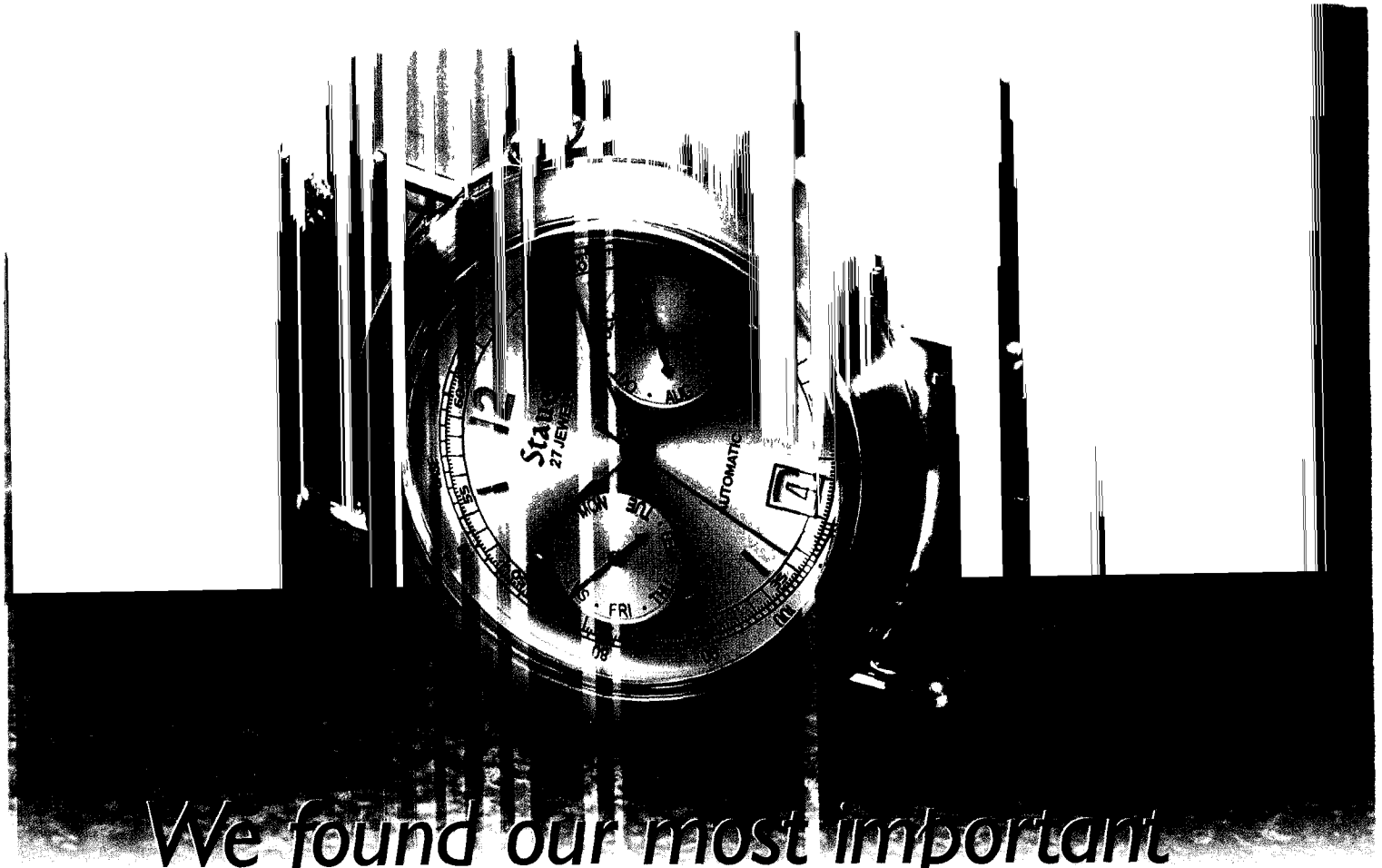
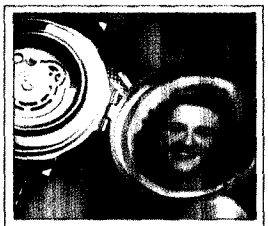


We found our most important watch in a soldier's pocket

It's the summer of 1944 and a weathered U.S. sergeant is walking in Rome only days after the Allied Liberation. There is a joyous mood in the streets and this tough soldier wants to remember this day. He's only weeks away from returning home. He finds an interesting timepiece in a store just off the Via Veneto and he decides to splurge a little on this memento. He loved the way it felt in his hand, and the complex movement inside the case intrigued him. He really liked the hunter's back that opened to a secret compartment. He thought that he could squeeze a picture of his wife and new daughter in the case back. He wrote home that now he could count the hours until he returned to the States. This watch went on to survive some harrowing flights in a B-24 bomber and somehow made it back to the U.S. Besides the Purple Heart and the Bronze Star, my father cherished this watch because it was a reminder of the best part of the war for any soldier—the homecoming.

He nicknamed the watch *Ritorno* for homecoming, and the rare heirloom is now valued at $42,000 according to *The Complete Guide to Watches*. But to our family, it is just a reminder that nothing is more beautiful than the smile of a healthy returning GI.



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WE NEED YOUR HELP TO EQUIP HIM FOR SOMETHING WE HOPE HE'LL NEVER BE CALLED UPON TO DO.

America's first responders are smart, strong, determined and brave. Unfortunately, many aren't equipped with the gear, the trucks, or technology they'll need to deal with a major catastrophe on the local level.

We're better off today than we were a year ago, however, we still have not fixed many of the issues that hampered rescue workers when Hurricane Katrina hit. Like lack of communication between local, state and federal officials in a command situation. Inadequate information-sharing. And incomplete response plans.

We need to be sure our emergency management, law enforcement and firefighting forces are equipped with everything they need to respond to catastrophes. And we need to prepare across the country, because even those who live outside the striking distance of hurricanes are vulnerable to disaster.

Natural catastrophes happen in all 50 states.

Right now, Congress is working with state and local officials and the private sector to create a financially responsible solution to prepare and protect Americans from future natural catastrophes, like hurricanes and earthquakes. H.R. 4366 and S. 3117 use insurance premiums — not tax dollars — to strengthen first responders and create a financial backstop against disaster.

IT'S TIME TO HELP THOSE WHO WILL HELP US IN OUR TIME OF GREATEST NEED.

Visit www.protectingamerica.org and let Congress know that when it comes to natural catastrophes, America needs to be ready to respond.

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